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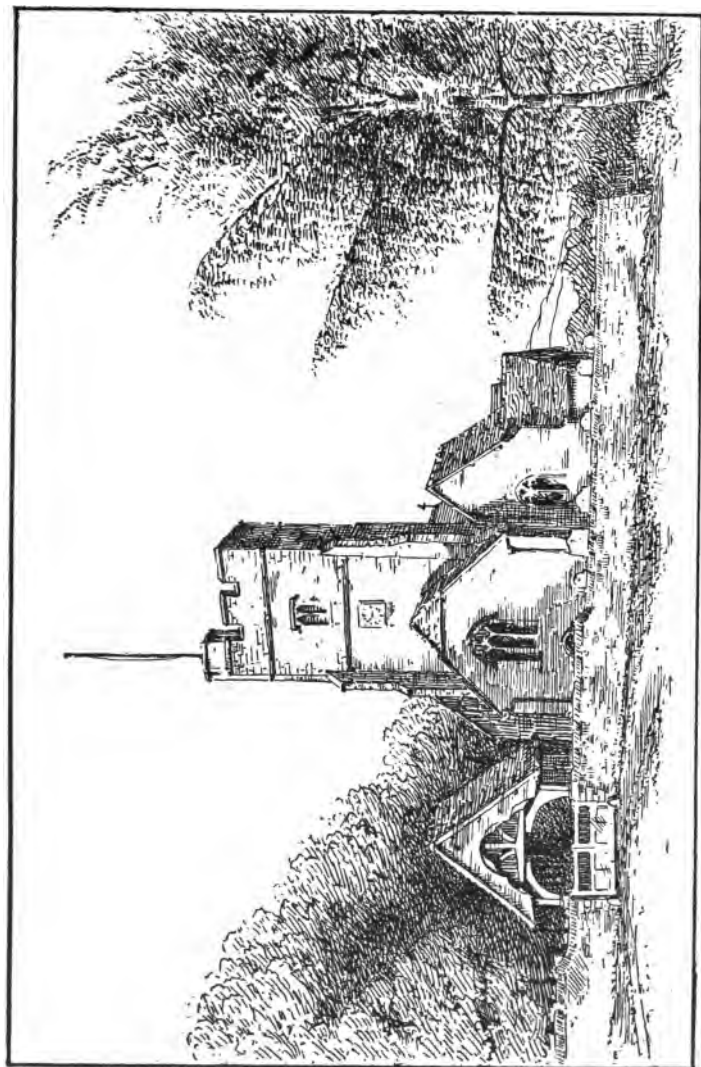
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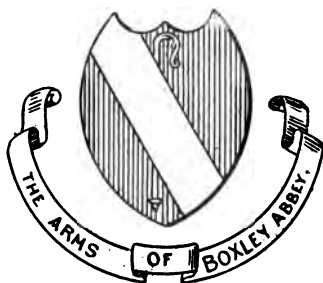
BY

J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.,

[VICAR OF DETLING, KENT.]

AUTHOR OF "LAMBETH PALACE AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS,"

"ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, MAIDSTONE," ETC., ETC.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE attempt to resuscitate the “dead past”—to unroll the shroud with which for eight hundred years Time has enveloped a spot so historic as Penenden Heath—or to re-people with its former occupants an Abbey of which naught remains but ruined walls and vague tradition—will probably be denounced by some as a rash and presumptuous venture on the part of one with so few qualifications for such a task.

How far the attempt has been a partial success, or an utter failure, he must leave his readers to judge.

He will only say that it has been from no lack of laborious research, or of ready sympathising help from his many friends, if he has failed to bring out some incidents of history unknown or forgotten, and to present some that may be old and well known in fresh combinations and in a new light.

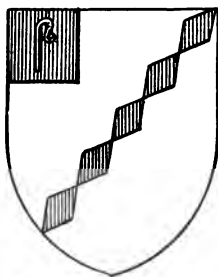
In this, as in former efforts to clothe local scenes with fresh interest, the Author has had the treasures of Lambeth Library, the Canterbury Chapter Archives, the British Museum, the Record Office, the College of Arms, and the Literary Department of Somerset House, all placed freely at his disposal, for which he desires to tender his very grateful acknowledgments. If he may presume to single out any of the Officials of these Institutions to whom he is indebted for valuable help, he would name Dr. J. Brigstocke Shepperd, the Curator of the Canterbury

Chapter MSS.; W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., of the MSS. Department of the British Museum, and C. T. Martin, Esq., F.S.A., of the Record Office.

To the Earl of Romney are his thanks especially due for permission to see and make use of the highly interesting Volume of the "WIAT MSS." in his possession; (from whence he has been able to obtain much little known and unpublished matter for Chapter VII.); also, to the Hon. Robert Marsham, F.S.A., for valuable information respecting his family; and to his artistic friend and neighbour, whose pen has contributed many of the Illustrations in this volume.

The principal printed authorities referred to, besides the more recent publications known as the "Rolls' Series," have of course been "Lambarde's Perambulations," "Philipott's Villare Cantianum," "Hasted's History of Kent" (8vo. Ed.), and the interesting little brochure entitled "Notes on Boxley," which emanated a few years ago from Boxley Vicarage.

All MS. and other sources of information he has endeavoured to acknowledge in their respective places, giving brief extracts in the footnotes, and, where desirable, fuller quotations in the Appendix.



The Arms of Boxley.

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CORRIGENDA.

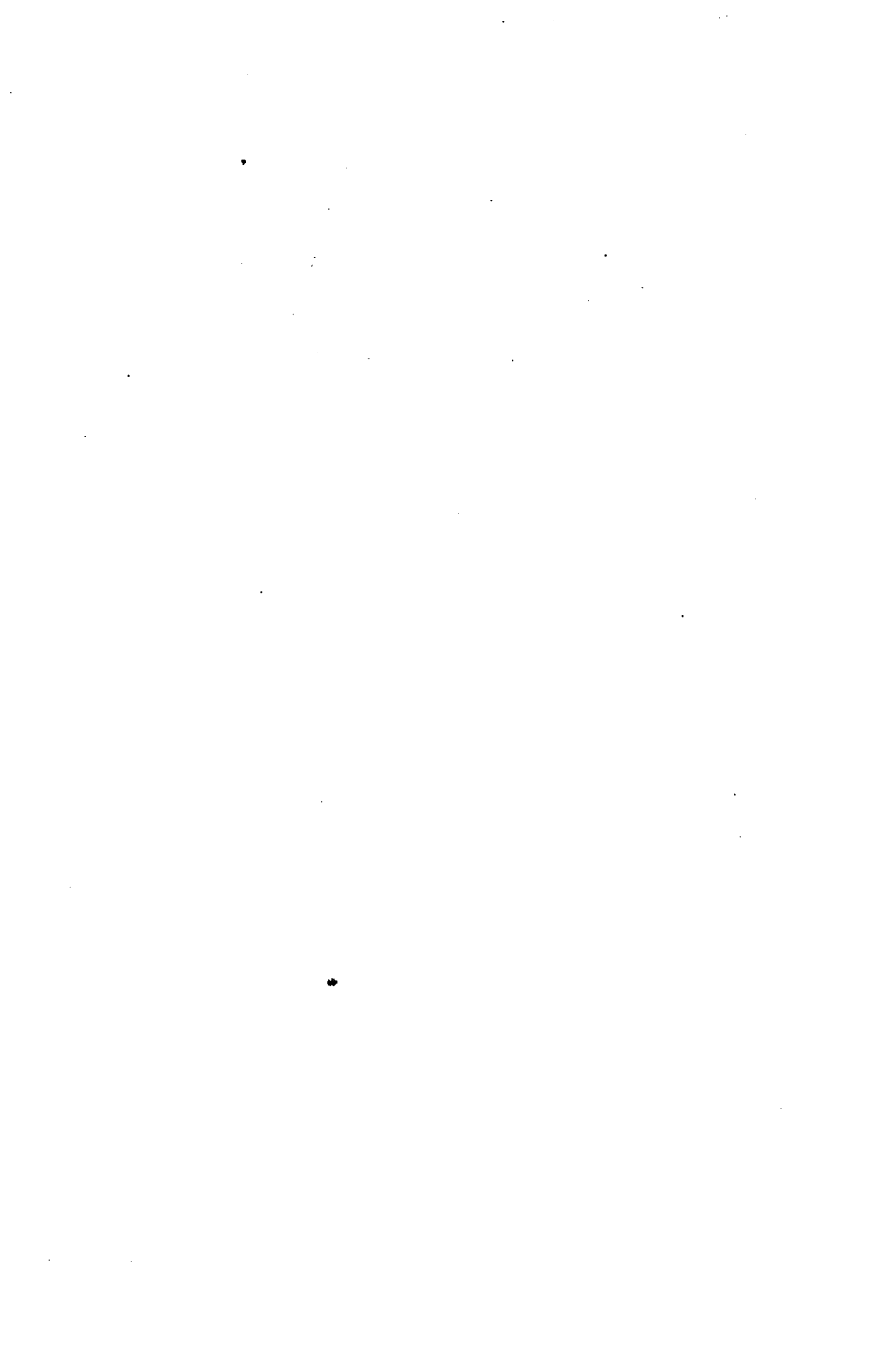
Page 5, Footnote 4.—For “Bratson” read “Beatson.”

Page 11, Footnote.—For “father” read “grandfather.”

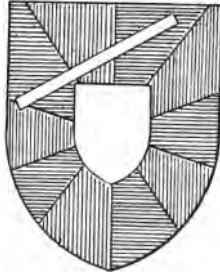
Page 22, Last line.—For “Maidstone” read “Wootton.”

Page 65, Six lines from the bottom.—For “thaumatergic” read “thau-
maturgic.”

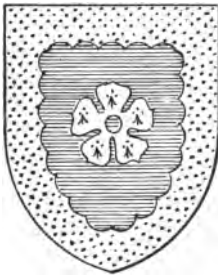
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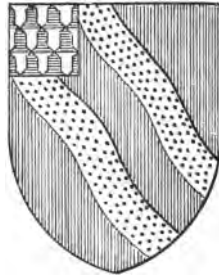
ARMS OF FAMILIES CONNECTED WITH BOXLEY.



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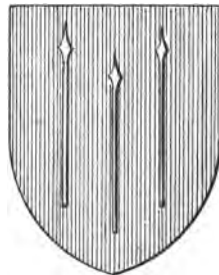
Astley.



Brewer.



Champneys.



Amherst.

THE HISTORY OF BOXLEY.

CHAPTER I.

THE PARISH.

THE Manor of Boxley holds in "Domesday Book" no insignificant place among those which the Conqueror had conferred on his half-brother Odo. The entry in that unique Record, coming under the heading "The Lands of the Bishop of Baieux," may be thus rendered in English; "Robert the Latin (*Robertus Latinus*) holds BOSELEU¹ (or BOSCLEU) at farm. It was rated at seven sulings² in the days of the Confessor; now at five sulings. There is arable land of twenty teams. In demesne there are three teams and forty-seven *villani*, with eleven *bordarii*, having sixteen *servi*. And twenty acres of pasture land: wood for fifty hogs. In the time of King Edward, and afterwards, it was worth twenty-five pounds; now thirty pounds; and at present

¹ There is clearly a mistake here in the spelling of the name, for elsewhere it is uniformly spelt with an X, thus BOXLE or BOXELE. The presence of the emblem, and of the very word "*buxus*," on the Seal of the Monastery (to be described in due course) supports the inference that from a very early period the name of the Parish was associated with the *box trees* so abundant on the neighbouring hill side.

² A *suling* is a Kentish land measure, about 160 acres.

pays rent fifty-five pounds. Alnod Cilt held it.”¹ It must have been a valuable Manor, for fifty-five pounds a year represented a high rental for a single manor;² yet such was the sum which Robert (evidently from his name a Norman) seems to have paid to Odo.

The next mention of this manor is its being granted by Richard I. to the recently founded Abbey of Boxley, from which the inference is that it was one of those manors that on Odo’s disgrace and banishment from England had been confiscated, and had so reverted to the Crown.

It may be well to mention here that the term “Manor” was often used in Norman times in a looser sense, being applied also to any freehold estate on which the owner had a residence. This, from the Latin word *manendo* (residing), was called a Manor.³ Over all such, however, the Paramount Manor would exercise a certain Lordship.

The PARISH of BOXLEY may be thus traced. Its Northern extremity is found deep in the Chatham Woods, from whence, skirting Lidsing, with the hamlet of Dunn Street on the East, and touching the borders of Bredhurst, it runs southward, side by side with Detling, till at “the Hockers” it passes Thornham and

¹ *Domesday*, f. 8, b. 2. *Alnod* is believed to be identical with *Ulnoth*, the 4th son of Earl Godwin, and younger brother of Harold. The title *Cilt* indicates a member of the Royal family, a Prince. De’Gray Birch’s *Domesday Book*, p. 104. See Appendix A.

² This amount is confirmed by the return made by the Sheriff of Kent for 1155, (Pipe Roll, 2, Henry II.,) where the property of W. de Ypra, in Boxley, is given as £55. Furley’s *Weald of Kent*, i., 338.

³ *Ordericus Vitalis*, bk. iv., ch. 7. Spelman’s *Glossary* ‘in loco.’ Furley’s *Weald of Kent*, i., 273.

Bearsted, and finds its southern boundary at the river Len, including the "Turkey Mills."¹ Separated by this little stream from the Parish of Maidstone, it travels a short distance westward, and then abruptly turns in a northerly direction till it reaches Penenden Heath; there it strikes off nearly at right angles to the west to Thrott Wharf and Rodway,² on the banks of the Medway, by which it is separated from Allington and its Castle. Still on westward it impinges upon Aylesford; then turning back nearly due east for a short distance, it returns abruptly to the north, crosses the high road between Maidstone and Rochester, and loses itself in the Chatham Woods again.

The Manorial rights, as already stated, were conferred on the Abbey by Richard I., in the year 1189, "for the salvation of the soul of his father, King Henry, his own soul, and his mother's."³ To these rights Henry III. added that of holding a market weekly (no slight privilege in those days) at a place to the west of the

¹ These Mills were originally constructed for "fulling," or cleansing woollen stuffs, for which purpose the neighbouring vein of "Fuller's Earth" at Grove Green was so well suited. But when this industry was removed elsewhere, Mr. Whatman, on buying the property, converted them into the present Paper Mills, which he subsequently sold to Messrs. Hollingworth, in whose family they now are.

² Here it includes Sandling Place, the property of S. Mercer, Esq., and Cobtree Hall, supposed to be the scene of the skating adventure so graphically described by Dickens in *The Pickwick Papers*. "Thrott" is probably derived from the Saxon word *Trod*, a road or track; and it, with the neighbouring "Rodway," clearly implies that at this point, or very near it, was the old ford or crossing, of which mention is made by Antoninus in his *Itinerary*.

³ Patent Rolls, i. Richard I. Dugdale's *Monasterium*, 1, 827, Harleian MSS., 6743, 26.

Abbey, still called "Farthings." A further favour, that of free warren over this and other manors, and right to hold Courts, was granted by Edward III. in the year 1359.¹

There existed also three lesser estates, called Manors, known as Vinter's, Wevering, and Newenham, (or Newnham); each of which has its separate history.

Of these Vinter's was the most ancient, and apparently the most important. The family which evidently gave to it its name (variously spelt Vineter, Vintier, Vyntier, and Vinter)² must have held a conspicuous position in the county early in the 14th century. Roger de Vineter was one of the Conservators of the Peace in the 18th of Edward III. (1344.)³ His son Robert, who died in 1373, endowed a Chantry Chapel in All Saints', Maidstone, in 1369.⁴ John Vineter, his son and heir, sold the manor in 1407 to John, the son of Sir Ralph de Fremingham, of Loose, through whose daughter it passed to the old Knightly family of Isley, of Sundridge,⁵ whose descendant, Sir Henry Isley, being involved in the conspiracy of Sir Thomas Wiat, forfeited the manor to the Crown.⁶ In the meanwhile, through all its transfers, it retained its original name of "Vinter's", as it does to this day. Queen Mary having obtained possession of

¹ Tanner's *Notitia*, p. 214.

² Canterbury Chapter Record MSS. Abp. Whittlesey's Register (Lambeth), f. 19 and f. 82, b. Abp. Langham's Reg. (*Ibid.*), f. 120.

³ Philipott's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 90.

⁴ The Chantry Chapel is still known as "Vinter's," or "Gould's," Chapel, from the small manor with which he endowed it.

⁵ Philipott's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 90. Hasted, vol. iv., 342.

⁶ The Tithes of Vinter's originally belonged to Leeds Priory, but when appropriated by Henry VIII., on the suppression of this Priory, were granted by the King to Rochester Chapter. (Hasted iv., 344.)

it, conferred it on Dr. John Cutte. He was the younger brother of Sir Henry Cutte, of Binbury, in the Parish of Thornham.¹ He seems to have soon sold it to Sir Cavaliero Maycott (or Mackworth),² who parted with it to William Covert, Esq., who had married Barbara, the widow of Sir Henry Cutte, Kt., John Cutte's brother. He again sold it to Sir William Tufton, Bt., in whose family it remained for two generations, until about 1660, Sir Charles Tufton sold it to Daniel White,³ Esq., of Winchelsea, in Sussex. He dying without issue, left it to his brother John's son, Daniel, who, in the beginning of the last Century sold it to Sir Samuel Ongley; who also died without family, and the estate passed to his nephew, Samuel Ongley, Esq., and after him to Robert Henley, Esq., who took the name of Ongley, and was created Baron Ongley,⁴ of Old Warden, in the Peerage of Ireland. As he left no son, Vinters was sold, and found a purchaser in James Whatman, Esq., who had been Sheriff for the County in 1767. His grandson, the late James Whatman, Esq., for several years represented the borough of Maidstone, and for a short time the County, in Parliament. To him the present handsome mansion is indebted for its ornamental frontage, added on to the substantial house originally built by Roger de Vinter in 1343, of which the old gables are still visible, and which had been greatly enlarged by the elder Mr. Whatman on his becoming possessed of the property in 1783.

¹ In Thornham Church is a transept still known as "Cutte's Chapel."

² The double name is always given in the Church Register.

³ Hasted calls him "Whyte," but in his Will, (Preg. Court, East, 89) he is styled "Daniel White, of Gray's Inn, and of Vinters, in the Parish of Boxley."

⁴ Hasted's *History of Kent*, iv., 343. Bratson's *Political Index*, iii., 172.

Adjoining Vinters, on the east, and now merged into it, is what was formerly known as "Wevering Manor", but more recently as *Vintners*. The similarity of the two names being liable to lead to confusion, it is important to distinguish between them, and also to account for the change from Wevering to Vintners. The original residence, though now a comparatively insignificant farm house, in what is still called Wevering Street, once represented a goodly Manor.

Philipott has traced back its history into the "long long ago."¹ He says in Edward III.'s reign it was held by Knight's service by Waretius, son of John de Shelving, to whom it had come through his mother, Helen de Bourne. A branch Manor, which adjoined and really formed part of it, had fallen into the hands of the de Houghams. By marrying Benedicta, the daughter and co-heiress of Robert de Hougham, he united the two estates again, and transmitted them to his son William, through whose only daughter it passed by marriage to Edward Haut,² Esq., of Haut Place, in Petham, in whose family it remained for three or four generations, until William Haut, dying without male issue, the estate passed by the marriage of his eldest daughter to Sir Thomas Wiat. It remained with him till the fatal year 1554, when all the Wiat property was confiscated by Queen Mary. Elizabeth, however, in the thirteenth year of her reign,³ restored to Dame Jane, the widow of her sister's victim, Allington, and part of the Abbey property, but apparently not the Wevering Manor, though that had been her own

¹ *Villare Cantianum*, pp. 89, 90.

² The name is also spelt Haute or Hawte.

³ Augmentation Office, Box A. 55.

by inheritance. This estate appears to have fallen into the hands of one Stephen Mason,¹ of Bearsted, "Citizen and Vintner of the Citye of London," who dying in 1560, left it to his widow for life, with reversion to the "Vintner's Company." Hence it came that what had been hitherto called the "Wevering Manor" was thenceforth known as the "Vintners' Estate." The site of the old Manor House, and some of the original building, may still be recognized in the present farmhouse, but the armorial bearings² of the Company on the front wall and in the windows proclaim its present ownership. In the Will of Stephen Mason mention is made of a Chapel having been attached to the Manor House, but of that no trace—nor apparently any tradition—seems to remain. Part of this estate was eventually bought by Mr. Whatman and merged into that of Vinters. Although the Chapel alluded to as having been attached to Wevering Manor-House has wholly disappeared, Mr. Whatman more than supplied its place by building at Grove Green, for the benefit of the inhabitants of this outlying hamlet of the Parish, a Schoolroom-Mission-Chapel and providing the salary for the Clergyman.

Another adjoining Manor, still retaining its original name of Newenham (or Newnham), was, according to Philipott,³ granted by the Conqueror to Odo, Bishop of Baieux, and probably, like Boxley itself, resumed by the Crown on his banishment. In Stephen's reign it had

¹ S. Mason's Will, Consistory Court, Canterbury, xxviii. 53.—Appendix B.

² Achevron, between 3 tuns. Herbert, in his "Livery Companies of London," says the name *Vintners* is a corruption of their original title *Wine-Tonners*."

³ In the body of his *Villare Cantianum* (p. 244) he by mistake identifies this with the Newenham near Faversham, but in the first page of his *Addenda* he corrects himself and describes it as being "a limbe of Boxley."

come into the possession of William d'Ypres, and was included in the lands with which he endowed the Abbey. There it remained till the Suppression, when Henry having appropriated it, conferred it, with the adjoining properties, on Sir Thomas Wiat. His unfortunate son, Sir Thomas, forfeiting all by his rebellion under Mary, Newnham was conferred by Elizabeth on her Master of the Jewels, John Astley, Esq., who had already received Maidstone Palace¹ from the Queen. His son, Sir John Astley, having no son, left it to his son-in-law, Sir Norton Knatchbull; who sold it to Sir John Banks, Bart., on whose death, in the year 1699, it passed, by the marriage of his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, to Heneage Finch, Esq., afterwards Lord Aylesford, who sold it to James Whatman, Esq.

Having thus traced the history of the three older Manors in the parish—Vinter's, Wevering, and Newnham—some account must be given of those estates formed out of the lands originally belonging to the Abbey, and lying in the central and more northern parts of the parish, *i.e.*, those attached to the Abbey House, Park House (Boxley), Park House (Maidstone), and Boxley House.

When the various Abbeys of the Kingdom were dissolved, and their lands appropriated by Henry VIII., a general distribution of them took place among the Royal Courtiers, while the King took to himself all the plate and treasure which accrued from them. One can imagine the King, with many signs of premature age and decay coming upon him, surrounded by a swarm of hungry, impatient Courtiers, watching like Cornish wreckers the bursting storm, and eager to secure whatever *flotsam* or *jetsam* might drift up.

¹ See *History of All Saints' Church, Maidstone*, p. 150.

It is said to have been suggested to the King by some Courtier that he should "butter the rooks' nests well, and they would never return again,"¹ meaning thereby that he should protect himself against Rome and the Monks by bestowing their lands among families of importance and influence. Henry seemed only too ready to act on this plan, always keeping an eye to his own interests.

Too often, as the result proved, the least worthy or desirable of those Palace hangers-on,—the spendthrifts and the gamblers about Court,—carried off the richest prizes, the most valuable estates, where, demolishing the old buildings and felling the timber, they turned all into money, to the sore neglect and sorrow of the old, often hereditary, retainers. But with Boxley it fared less badly than with many of the condemned houses. On the other side of the Medway stood the historic feudal fortress of Allington Castle, then owned by one of the King's most loyal and faithful subjects, Sir Thomas Wiat, a man of wealth as well as honour, and he obtained by exchange the lands which lay so conveniently near to his own domain.² Thus, apparently in their entirety, the Abbey lands passed from the Crown to the Wiat family. Only, however, to remain with them for a single generation; for the whole was forfeited to the Crown by Sir Thomas "the younger" raising the country against Queen Mary's Spanish alliance. Under Elizabeth it was distributed piecemeal among her favourites, never again to be reunited in one property. Out of that distribution came the several estates we have named, and will now proceed to describe.

Elizabeth, once firmly seated on the throne, seemed to

¹ Walpole's *Miscellaneous Antiquities*, Part ii., p. 19.

² "Augmentat. Office, Box A. 55."

be bent on righting some of the wrongs her father and sister had perpetrated. In the tenth year of her reign she obtained from Parliament a cancelling the forfeiture of the Wiat family in the person of Sir Thomas's son George, and conferred on him a portion of the Boxley Estate, and three years after she restored to the widow (Dame Jane as she was called) the ABBEY HOUSE, the Manor of Boxley, and the Upper Grange.¹ On her death the two properties were united in the person of her son George. From him they passed to his eldest son, Francis, a man of some distinction, having received the honour of Knighthood from Charles I., and been twice Governor of Virginia. The change in the spelling of the name from Wiat to Wyat seems to have taken place under him. He died in 1644, leaving the Boxley property to his eldest son, Henry. His only daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Thomas Bosville, Esq., and their daughter Frances carried the estate to her husband, Sir Thomas Selyard (or Seyliard); but Edwin, the younger brother of Henry, a distinguished lawyer (of whom more in a later Chapter), established his claim to a large portion of the estate against his niece, Lady Selyard, leaving her only the Abbey and the lands adjoining. However, on her death without a son to carry on the inheritance, the Abbey was bought by Edward Austen, Esq., of Sevenoaks, from whom it passed to his brother Robert, whose descendant sold it to Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards Lord Aylesford, by whom it was sold to Lord Romney, and has been recently purchased by Major Mawdistley G. Best, of Park House.

It seems quite impossible now to assign any period for

¹ "Augmentation Rolls, ii., n. 10; iii., n. 57, 58."

the special work of demolition which has taken place here, but it may fairly be divided between the Wiats and the Selyards, while the present comparatively modern dwelling house must be of a much later date.

Mention has been made of the Lawsuit in which Edwin Wyat succeeded in obtaining from his aunt, Lady Selyard, that portion of the Abbey land which had come to her through her uncle, George Wyat, leaving her only the part which had been restored to her grandmother, the Dame Jane. Thus the land above the Church was formed into a separate property, and became known as the BOXLEY HOUSE estate. Edwin Wyat died in 1714, at the advanced age of 85, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis, who dying without issue left it to his brother Richard; he having no children bequeathed it to his relative Robert, Lord Romney,¹ in whose family it remained until it was recently purchased by Albert F. Style, Esq., who is the great-grandson of the 2nd Lord Romney.

Another portion of the original Abbey lands lying between the Abbey House and that described as the BOXLEY HOUSE estate, now called PARK HOUSE, BOXLEY, has for the last century and a half belonged to the Best family. To whom it was granted by Elizabeth, or through what families it passed down to the commencement of the last century even Hasted, with his powers of indefatigable research and rare opportunities of acquiring information, has failed to trace. According to him, a Mrs. St. John sold it in 1730 to Mawdistley Best, Esq., who ten years after was High Sheriff for the County. His younger son, James,

¹ His father, Sir Robert Marsham, had married Elizabeth Bosville, the grand-daughter of Sir Francis Wiat.

who succeeded to it (the elder brother taking the Chilston estate), was also Sheriff in 1751, while his descendant, the present owner, Major Mawdistley G. Best, filled that office in 1884. He has erected a spacious mansion, and largely increased the estate by purchasing adjacent land, and quite recently the Abbey House and property.

The fourth important Estate which was partly formed out of the distribution of the Abbey lands is that now known as PARK HOUSE, MAIDSTONE, belonging to the Lushington family. It bears this distinctive name because until about a century ago the house stood within the boundaries of the Parish of Maidstone. From what source, or when, the Maidstone portion of this estate came into private hands is somewhat doubtful. Hasted¹ says it was originally part of the possessions of the See of Canterbury, and obtained by Henry VIII. from Abp. Cranmer either by purchase or exchange. It appears to have then come into the hands of Sir Anthony Knevetts, but probably was resumed by the Crown when the Knevetts were involved in the "Wiat rebellion." In the early part of Elizabeth's reign it was held by Alexander Parker, Esq., described as "Le Park," together with "Park Wood, alias Boxley, and Mowlton Downe, in Boxley."² This can only have been a temporary arrangement, for in the grants of Abbey lands made by Elizabeth we find the Nether Grange, or Lower Grange Farm and adjacent land granted to Serjeant Nicholas Barham.³ It subsequently came into possession

¹ Hasted's *History of Kent*, iv., 302.

² *Abbey and Crown Lands Leased Out*, 5 Eliz., the mention of Boxley distinguishes this from "The Parke," which the Abp. leased to "Rycharde Hely, in the Borough of Westrye," (now called "Lock Meadows") in 1519, and alluded to in Patent Roll, 11 Henry VIII.

³ *Augmentation Rolls*, vii. n. 22, viii. n. 51—53.

of the Brewer family (described in the earlier entries in the Church Registers as *Bruers*), by whom it was sold to Sir T. Taylor, who appears to have owned it in the reign of Charles II. His son, Sir Thomas Taylor, dying without issue, it was sold to James Calder, Esq., in 1735, whose son, Sir Henry Calder, built the present imposing house on a far more commanding site than the old one, of Kentish rag quarried out of the adjacent field, thus removing it out of the Maidstone into the Boxley Parish, but retaining for it its old name of "Park House, Maidstone," to distinguish it from the Boxley "Park House," the residence of Major M. G. Best. Early in the present Century it was purchased by E. H. Lushington, Esq., whose family still occupy it.

It appears that the same year in which the grant was made to George Wiat, a further grant of Abbey lands was made to his younger brother, Edward, comprising "Coptre, Styles Meade, Cowleblowes, &c.,"¹ but these have long disappeared as a separate property, and have been absorbed into the different estates; as also those which composed what Hasted calls the "Manor of Ovenhelle (or Overhelle)," generally described in the old Charters as "*super montem*."

Such is the Parish of Boxley, covering nearly 5,800 acres, with a population of 1,400 people, the Manorial rights remain in the hands of Earl Romney.

¹ Patent Roll, 10 Elizabeth Pt. 3, m. 28. Angment. Rolls, v. n. 15.

CHAPTER II.

PENENDEN HEATH.

MIDWAY between the extreme northern and southern limits of the parish of Boxley, and in the very centre of the county of Kent, lies the historic PENENDEN HEATH, now in its reduced proportions no longer the harbour for gipsies and tramps, but converted into a pleasure-ground for the neighbouring town of Maidstone. To realise to the full the important place this Heath once held in English history, the mind must go back far beyond the times when it witnessed the frequent gatherings of the Sheriff and his official retinue, to transact the business of the county, and the more exciting occasions of the election of Knights of the Shire, which for many generations always took place here ; or those sadder scenes of public executions, of which the record still remains in the name of the mound close by, to this day known as "Gallows Hill," with the adjacent road as "Hangman's Lane." Long anterior to this runs the real history of Penenden Heath.

In the writings of the earliest monastic chroniclers mention is made of it, and that in connection with one of the most momentous events in English history. On this spot was held, in 1076, the memorable trial in which an Archbishop of Canterbury, and a brother of a King—and he "the Conqueror"—were the contending parties. It should

be mentioned here that very different dates have been assigned to this Meeting. Philipott¹ is clearly wrong when he says it took place in the fourth year of William the Conqueror (that would make it 1070). Freeman,² the great authority for that period, has suggested 1073, because the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*³ says it was in the third year after Lanfranc's consecration: but that very Record raises a doubt as to its own accuracy by adding that it was the year in which Peter was consecrated Bishop of *Lichfield or Chester*. Now Godwin and Le Neve⁴ agree in stating that the said Peter was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield in 1067, and not transferred to Chester till 1075. Another argument for the later date arises out of Ernulph's account of the Trial,⁵ that Ernostus was at the time Bishop of Rochester, which did not occur till 1076. There, again, Æthelric is styled Bishop of Chichester; he really never was Bishop of Chichester, but Bishop of Selsey when deposed; and the transfer of the See from Selsey to Chichester did not take place till 1075. On all these grounds the writer has given 1076 as the probable date of the Trial.

The case may be thus stated. When William the Conqueror had removed Stigand from the Primacy, on the ground of uncanonical and schismatical consecration,

¹ *Villare Cantianum*, p. 231.

² *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv., p. 365.

³ MSS. Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, clxxii.

⁴ Godwin's *De Presulibus*, p. 312. Le Neve's *Fasti*.

⁵ Since the above was written, the author has had the opportunity of consulting the original MS. in the Diocesan Registry at Rochester, and finds that neither of the two great printed authorities, Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, nor Selden in his Notes to Eadmer's *Historia*, give the whole of the Record, but both stop short of the concluding paragraph, which gives the date thus, *anno millesimo septuagesimo sexto*.—See Appendix C.

and a delay occurred in the arrival of Lanfranc, whom he designed for the vacant post, the King brought over from Normandy his half-brother Odo, who was already Bishop of Baieux, and, probably to console him for not having the Primacy, had not only created him Earl of Kent and Warden of Dover Castle, but conferred on him no less than 184 manors in Kent and 250 in other parts of England.¹ He had also the charge of the temporalities of the vacant see of Canterbury, and was constituted "Regent"² of the Kingdom.

But when Lanfranc arrived, and assumed the Primacy, he found that Odo, not content with that wealth of lands which his Royal brother had lavished upon him, had grievously abused the power and authority entrusted to him, and had appropriated to himself, and conferred on his minions, many other valuable manors belonging to the See, and had also encroached upon the rights of the Primacy, and even of the Crown. Lanfranc appealed to the King for justice and restitution, whereupon William issued a Proclamation, explicit and stringent, its very language breathing earnestness and determination; "A Schiregemot must be held. To it must be summoned, conjointly by the Primate and the Justiciar, the leading magnates of the land, in the King's name; and to it must come all parties affected, to answer and make restitution." "Charge them from me," it ran, "that they restore to my episcopal and abbatial estates all the demesnes, &c., which

¹ Some idea of the extent of the lands held by the Bishop of Baieux in Kent alone may be formed from the fact that of the 14 folios in *Domesday* referring to that County no less than 6, *i.e.*, from 6 a. 1 to 11 b. 2, are wholly filled with descriptions of his Manors.

² William of Malmesbury calls him "*Vicedominus*," *Gesta Regum* (Hearne's Ed.) vol. ii., 456.

my bishops and abbots through easiness, fear, or cupidity, have given up, and agreed to their having, or which they themselves have violently deprived them of; . . . and unless they make restitution, as you shall summon them from me, do thou compel them to do so, whether they will or no. If any other, or any of you on whom I have enjoined this mandate, have participated in this, let him make similar restitution of any episcopal or abbatial property which he may have, lest on account of what any of you may yourself possess, you be the less ready to enforce my command, etc.”¹

Such a summons could not fail to have effect. Penenden Heath, which according to “Domesday” was one of Odo’s own manors, was to be the place of meeting, and thither these magnates of the land, Norman and Saxon, came together to hear and to make answer to the charges to be brought by Lanfranc against Odo, and against all involved in his misdeeds.

Well might the old Chronicler dwell with seeming delight on the picture he has drawn, in his nervous and graphic mediæval Latin, of the scene here enacted. Though a Norman himself, and the rival claimants both Normans, while the Manors belonged to the English Church, yet—was he not a Churchman? and so would naturally describe with ardour the contest between the two, sympathising with the one who was struggling to recover the revenues of the Church, of which the other had robbed her. Such a Court of Justice, taking into account the position of those principally concerned, could never before have sat on English soil. Here were Norman and Saxon

¹ The original Summons is given in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 3. See Appendix C.

bishops, Norman barons and knights, Saxon earls and thanes, types of the two races, on whom, now that he was seated on his throne, the Conqueror desired to see justice administered, and whom he in his heart hoped, if it might be, to see welded into one people.

Of this remarkable trial, the best account that has come to us is that of Ernulph,¹ who may be regarded as a contemporary authority, for he had been a Benedictine monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, of which house he was appointed the second Prior in 1096, promoted to be Abbot of Peterborough in 1107, and in 1114 raised to the bishopric of Rochester.² To his pen we are indebted for the earliest history of that diocese, and for the fullest account of the Penenden trial. Even he, however, gives us little more than the bare names of those who were present. To contemporary readers what more would be necessary? for to them the name and position of each would be familiar. But it is not so after a lapse of eight hundred years. A more detailed description is now necessary to make the import and grandeur of that scene intelligible. The very presence of those men on such an occasion shows that each must have had a conspicuous personality which alone would entitle him to be there; and it is only by investing each one with his own individuality (so far as is possible

¹ The original MS. is in the Rochester Registry, under the title of *Undecimo quarternis Registr. Temporalium Episcop.*, xi., p. 121. It is rather inaccurately given by Selden in his Notes to Eadmer's *Historia*, and still more imperfectly copied by Dugdale in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, p. 827; by Wharton in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i., p. 334 and in Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, p. 27; all of whom seem to have been content to copy from Selden, therefore all also omit the last paragraph, which gives the date of the meeting. See Appendix D.

² *Anglia Sacra*, i., p. 136. Godwin, *De Presulibus*, p. 526.

after so long an interval) that the representative character of the assembly can be realised.

The King was fitly represented by Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutance (*Goisfridus Constantiensis*),¹ and now Justiciar of England, whom Eadmer describes as a man of great wealth² as well as of high authority. He had been an old vassal of William's in the days of his Norman dukedom, having in 1048 been appointed to the see of Coutance, and soon after the Conquest brought over to England, and in 1070 placed in his present office of "Legal Deputy," in which capacity he was fitly selected to preside at the impending trial, "to see justice administered."

By his side, as the sage expounder of Saxon customs as well as joint arbiter³ with him, sat Æthelric,⁴ an old Saxon Bishop, whose had been a strangely chequered career. Originally a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, he had been raised, in the year 1047, to the South Saxon bishopric of Selsey, by Edward the Confessor; but soon after William's arrival he, with Stigand of Canterbury and Æthelmar of Elmham, had been summarily deposed on the

¹ So Ernulphus; Eadmer (*Historia*, p. 9) calls him *Goffridus*; William of Malmesbury (Hearne's Ed., p. 487), *Gaufridus*; while in a Charter from the Conqueror to St. Augustine's Abbey the name is spelt *Golfrydus*. In *Domesday* he is styled *Episcopus de Sancto Laudo*, and *de Seynt Loth*, clearly now called St. Lo, in Lower Normandy.

² "Vir ea tempestate prædives in Anglia." Eadmer's *Historia*, p. 9.

³ Bishop Godwin (*De Presulibus*, p. 501) describes his position as "Arbiter honorarius constitutus una cum Godfrido Constantiensi."

⁴ It is remarkable that both Ernulph and Eadmer style Æthelric "Bishop of Chichester," whereas it was the Bishopric of Selsey from which he was deposed, and the See was not transferred to Chichester till 1075, five years after his deposition. The name is frequently spelt *Ægelric* by mistake.

ostensible ground of irregular consecration, though more probably on the real ground of their Saxon origin, and also to make room for Norman successors. Æthelric, however, had fared the worst of the three, for not only did he lose his Bishopric, as the Chroniclers say, "unjustly and uncanonically",¹ but was brought to trial (on what charge is not stated) before a synod held at Windsor, and sent to prison at Marlborough. His fame, however, had survived; and now his high repute for learning, and his special knowledge of English laws and customs, marked him out for a place (and an important one) at this impending trial. So by the King's special mandate he was summoned to take his seat beside the Justiciar of England; but so broken down had he become by age and trouble² that he was no longer able to bear the fatigue of riding on his palfrey, or even the jolting of an ordinary vehicle, and by the King's order he was brought in *quadriga*, in a car drawn by four horses.

With them sat Ernostus, the recently appointed Bishop of Rochester, a favourable type of a Norman churchman. The King had brought him over from the Monastery of Bec, and made him Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and in 1076 Lanfranc selected him³ for the See of

¹ Florence of Worcester (Hearne's Ed., ii., 6) says "Non canonice degradatur, et sine culpa mox Rex in custodia posuit." Bishop Godwin (*De Presulibus*, 501), on his testimony, puts it that he was "exauthoratus injuste."

² "Vir antiquissimus, et legum terræ sapientissimus, qui expræcepto Regis advectus fuit adipscas antiquas legum consuetudines discutiendas et edocendas, in una quadriga," *Seldeni Notæ ad Eadmerum*, p. 199. "Homo grandævus jumentum concussionem non ferens vehiculo ad locum destinatum deportatus est (Pinenden Heath)." (Godwin's *De Presulibus*, p. 501.)

³ The nomination to the See of Rochester had from the time of Augustine lain with the Archbishops of Canterbury until the year 1147, when Archbishop Theobald waived the right, and conceded it to the monks of Rochester, who elected Walter, the Archbishop's brother, at the time Archdeacon of Canterbury. (Godwin, *De Presul.*, p. 527; Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 247.)

Rochester, "to set in order the things that were wanting"¹ after seventeen years of misrule and neglect under Bishop Siward.

These three may be regarded as forming the judicial bench. Besides them, probably in the character of Assessors, were some of the county magnates, Richard Fitz-Gilbert, one of the Conqueror's special comrades, on whom he had conferred, with many other manors, that of Tonbridge, which gave him his Kentish title, and subsequently that of Clare in Suffolk, from which he was more commonly known as Richard de Clare;² Haimo de Crevequer, too, at the time Sheriff of Kent, in whom the King reposed so much confidence that he not only gave him the lordship of Leeds Castle, but also made him a joint-Conservator of Dover Castle, one of the highest posts of trust in his newly acquired kingdom.

The defendant before them was none other than Odo, as Earl of Kent, the King's half-brother, the second most powerful man in the kingdom,—if even second to the King himself,—of whom mention has been already made. He stood there to give account for his deeds of rapacity and injustice.³ With him, too, were many of the leading Normans who had benefitted by his illegal and unrighteous acts of spoliation. Here were Herbert Fitz-

¹ "Malis ut occurreret, et Ecclesie res in meliorem locum redigeret, Arnostum, Monachum Beccensem, cujus animi virtutes satis habebat perspectas, Lanfrancus antistitem hic constituit. (Godwin, *De Presul.*, p. 525.)

² In Doyle's *Baronage* he is styled "Lord of Tunbridge" and "Earl of Clare," and is said, on the authority of Ordericus Vitalis, to have been appointed Chief Joint-Justiciar in 1074, in which capacity he may have been present at Penenden.

³ Ingulph's *Chronicle*, p. 112. De Gray Birch's *Domesday Book*, p. 91.

Ivo,—probably Ivo Taillebois, a nephew of the Conqueror, who was noted for his haughtiness and rapacity; the misshapen Turolde of Rochester, “whose dwarfish form still lives in the Tapestry of Bayeux”;¹ Hugh de Montfort, so highly esteemed and trusted by the King that, besides giving him 114 Manors in Kent,² he made him, in conjunction with Odo, one of the Constables of Dover Castle; Ralf de Curva-Spina (or “Crooked Thorn”); William d’Acres, and other Norman chiefs who were parties to the wrongs that had been perpetrated under his auspices and his example.

Against this formidable array—the Earl of Kent and his satellites—there stood up, single-handed and alone, but strong in the justice of his cause, Lanfranc, the famed student, but still more famed Advocate, of his native Pavia, with his Italian face and lordly bearing,³ to vindicate the Church’s claims and to recover her rights. For three days (says the chronicler) did he argue cause after cause, and establish claim after claim, with such profound learning and suble casuistry as to call forth the astonishment and admiration of the assembled nobles, Norman and Saxon alike.

The result is given in fuller detail by Eadmer. Some twenty-five manors⁴ or lordships, with the advowsons attached, did he recover for the See and the Priory of Canterbury. From Odo himself he rescued, in the county of Kent, Reculver, Sandwich, Detling, Maidstone, Lyminge,

¹ Freeman’s *Norman Conquest*, iv., p. 364.

² Nicolas’s *Historic Peerage*, p. 331.

³ Hook’s *Lives of the Archbishops*, ii., pp. 74, 79.

⁴ Lanfrancus maneria 25 per Odonem Episcopum Baiocensem, fratrem Regis uterinum, erepta ecclesia restituenda curavit. Godwin, *De Presulibus* i., p. 61.

Saltwood, Newenden, Preston (near Faversham), Sandhurst, Erith, Orpington, Eynsford, and Hayes;¹ to which may be added, from the Cott. MSS., Folkestone, Richborough, Statenborough, (in Eastry) Tilmanstone, and Witthersham, Langport, Penshurst.² Nor had Odo confined himself to archiepiscopal manors in Kent. There were, in Middlesex, Harrow; in Surrey, Mortlake; in Buckinghamshire, Monks' Risborough, and other lesser manors.

Other Sees also had suffered to satisfy the greed of his Norman hangers-on, and these Lanfranc claimed back. For the See of Rochester he recovered, and restored to Gundulph, who had, meanwhile, succeeded Ernulph, Stoke-at-Hoo, Denton, Fawkham. He also forced Hugh de Montfort to give up Rucking and Broke, besides other Manors he had received from Odo; and wrested from Ralph de Crookthorn some rich pastures in the proverbially fertile Isle of Grain.

In every case he restored to the spoliated Sees the manors of which they had been so unscrupulously robbed; and, moreover, recovered many rights and dues which had for a time been wrested from the Church, and in some cases from the Crown itself. The proceedings of those memorable days were then submitted to the King, who at once approved of them, and required that they should be subsequently sanctioned by the General Council of the whole nation, thus securing for the verdict of the Schiregemot of Kent the endorsement of the Witenagemot of England.

¹ *Seldeni Notæ ad Eadmeri Historiam*, pp. 198, 200. See Appendix D.

² Cott. MSS., *Augustus* ii., 36, recently brought to light by W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., and introduced into his very valuable little work on *Domesday Book*, p. 295. See Appendix E.

Well did the Conqueror show on that day at least that however powerful, or however near to himself, were the wrongdoers, he would carry out to the full the oath he had taken to administer true judgment and justice in his new kingdom.¹

To Lanfranc's honour, be it remembered, he gave back, with open hand, to religious uses the wealth of which the Church had been robbed. On his own Cathedral, which he found in a dilapidated state from the recent conflagration, he expended a vast sum, as the part known as Lanfranc's Church to this day bears witness; while his munificence also extended to St. Alban's Abbey, over which he had placed his own kinsman and *commonachus* of Caen, Paul, as its first Norman Abbot.²

Thus ended the great trial which involved such momentous issues affecting the English Church and its rights.

After this Penenden Heath relapsed into its normal state of quietude for at least a couple of centuries.

It was on this Heath, so tradition has it, in the year 1381, Wat Tyler found a rallying point for his Kentish malcontents, gathering here the nucleus of that formidable body of some 10,000 men, with whom he for a time succeeded in endangering the peace of the City of London, and the very person of the feeble Richard II.

Here, too, probably, was a similar scene enacted, on a smaller scale, when in 1450 Jack Cade, at the head of the self-styled "commons of England," gathered from the surrounding villages his "army," as Shakespeare con-

¹ Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iv., p. 364.

² Matthew Paris (1644), p. 9.

temptuously calls them, describing them as being

“a ragged multitude
Of hinds and peasants, naked and merciless,”

with which he made his second advance on London, in the vain hope of extorting from the scarcely less feeble Henry VI. a removal of the supposed grievances of an over-taxed country.

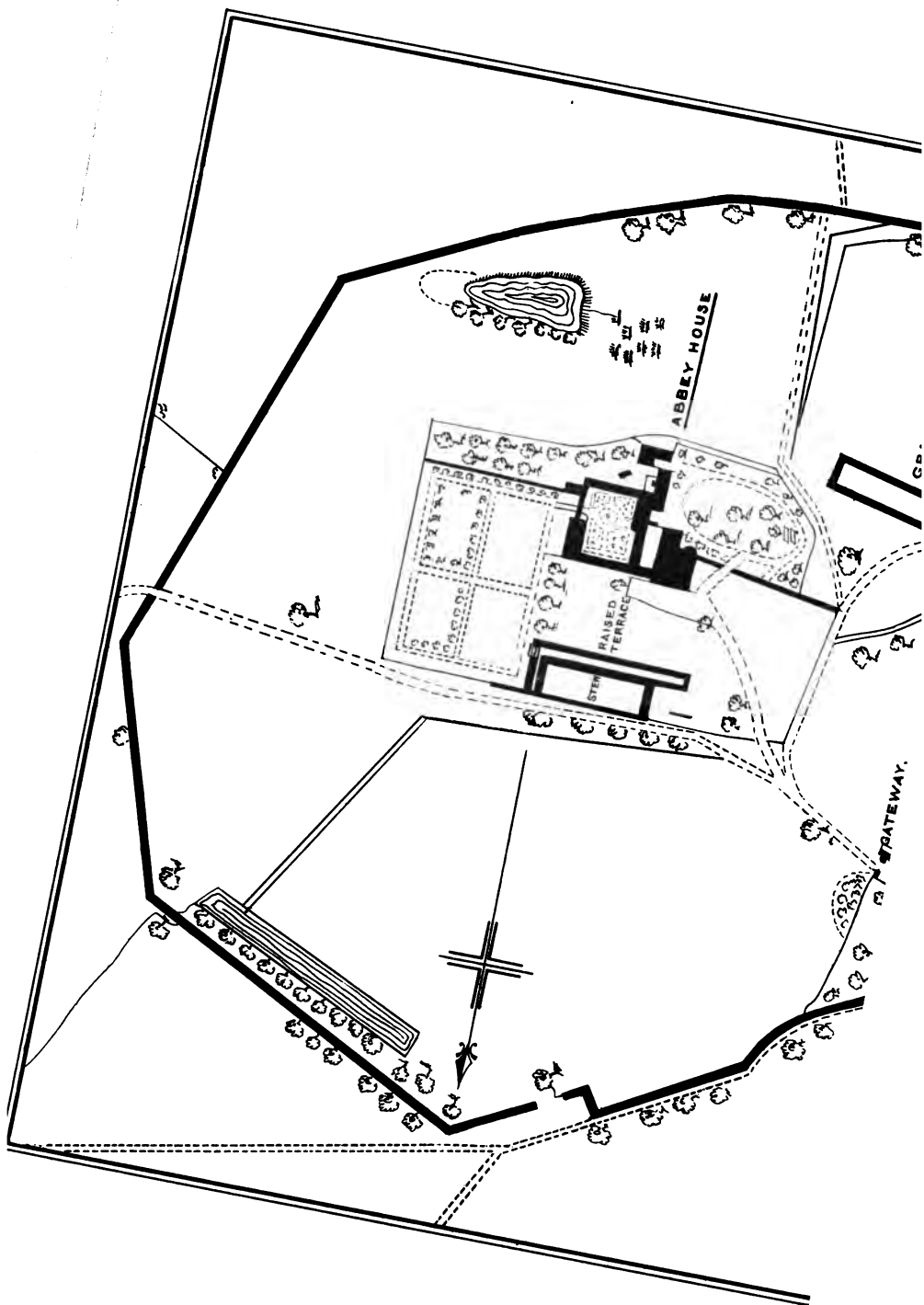
This inference is supported by the names which appear in the Patent Roll of those who were subsequently pardoned by the King. So many having come from Maidstone and the neighbouring villages, Hollingbourne, Bearsted, Thornham, Boughton-Monchelsea, Barming, Aylesford, and Boxley itself,¹ it is more than probable that Penenden Heath, the only open space suited for such a purpose, should have been the mustering-place for the contingents from these parts.

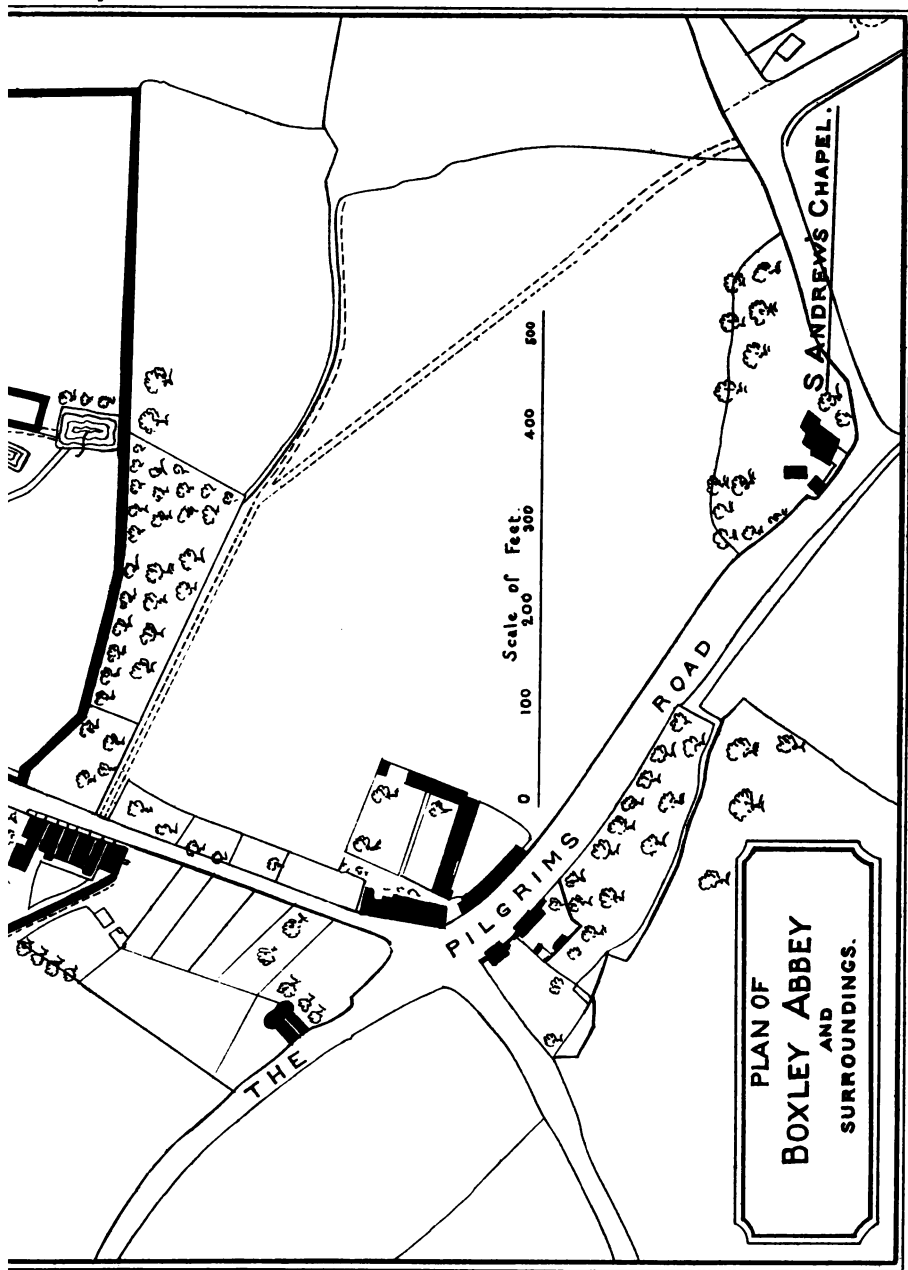
And here, once more, a century later, did the chivalrous yet rash Sir Thomas Wiat sound the tocsin of rebellion against Queen Mary's hateful Spanish alliance, only to forfeit his life, and for a time to rob his family of “the gray old Castle of Allington” and many a goodly manor besides.

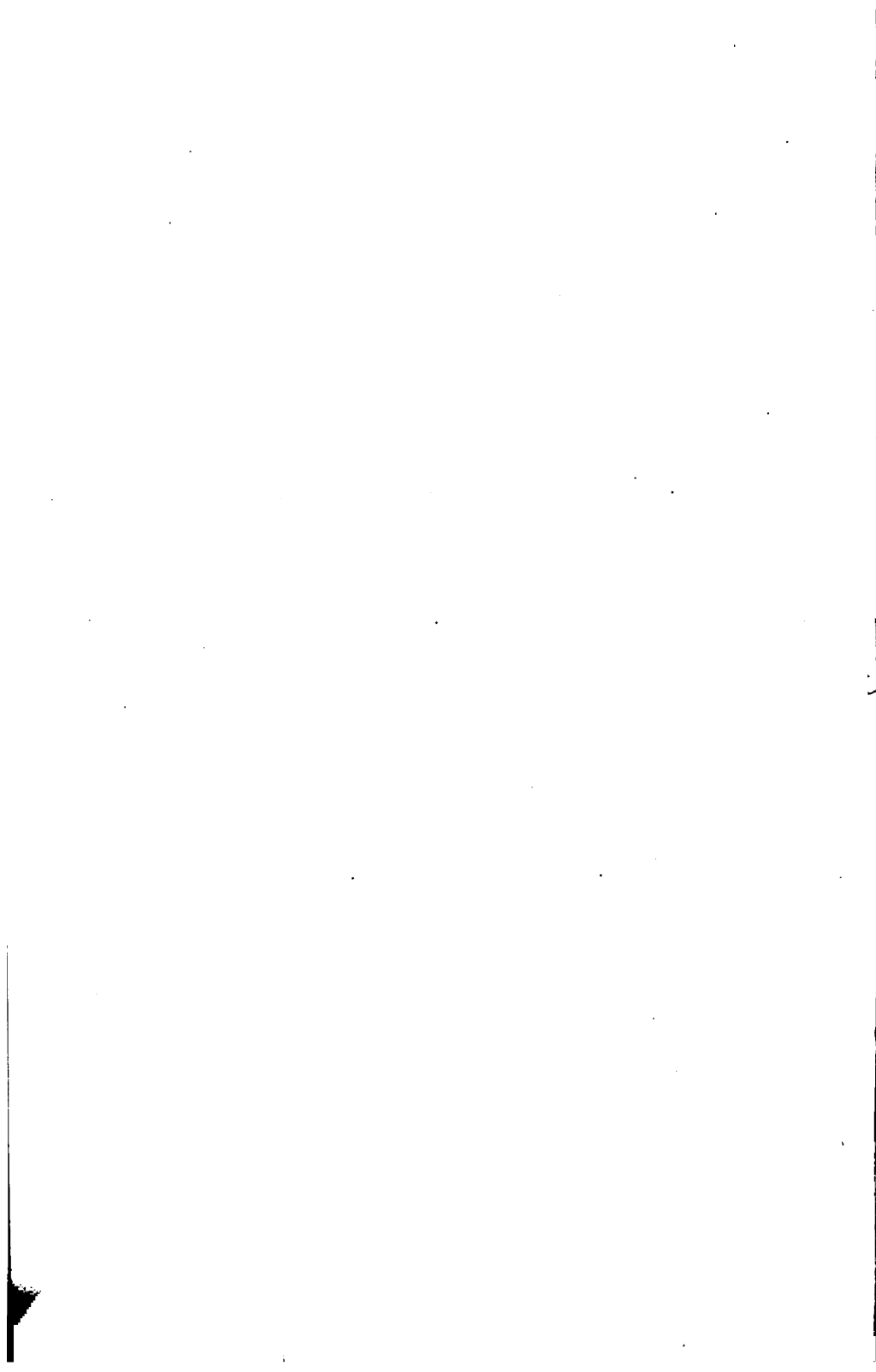
Thus would it seem, in each of these cases, the insurgent bands of Kent found a “Lanrick Mead” at Penenden Heath.

¹ From Boxley there came, among the gentry, John Rowe; of yeomen, John Gouell, Henry Asshby, Roger Man, Robert Man, Thomas Gulley, John Clynton, John Pastron, John Welles, Richard Shymyng, Henry Dore, James Burbage, Robert Burbage, Richard Snelgorre, and many more; of masons, Richard Sebris, John Joce; and of husbandmen, Burbages, Farams, etc. (List of Pardons granted to the followers of Cade, given by W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. vii., pp. 233-69.)

Yet again, in 1828, after another interval of 250 years, was this Heath the scene of a gathering, more orderly no doubt, and more constitutional, but scarcely more successful, when not less than 50,000 men, as it was calculated, had assembled here to petition Parliament against what was commonly known as the (Roman) "Catholic Emancipation Bill," that the Protestant Constitution of the United Kingdom might be preserved entire and inviolate. Notwithstanding this, and hundreds of other similar protests, the Bill was passed in the following Sessions of Parliament.







CHAPTER III.

BOXLEY ABBEY.

THE traveller journeying over the range of hills known as the North Downs, which lie between Rochester and Maidstone, cannot fail to be struck with the sudden change in the general aspect of the country. Passing down the slope of Blue-bell Hill, and entering the parish of Boxley, he leaves behind him on his right the rude, prehistoric pile of massive blocks commonly called Kit's Cotty House, and the strange group of unhewn stones which crop up, without order and seemingly without number¹, in the neighbouring field, and on his left the barren chalk hillside, when his eye is arrested by the abrupt transition from the scant herbage, and low brushwood, and stunted yews, to the rich pasture-land, with its array of goodly elms, spread out before him. He sees farm-buildings, and a mill with its shapely lake, telling of active and well-requited husbandry. He traces out broken lines of wall, which erst enclosed a range of monastic buildings; he sees in the midst of modern brickwork the piers of the old Abbey gateway, and a still substantial Granary, and his mind pictures to itself the day when all that spoliation and time have now left in ruin constituted the heart and home

¹ So irregularly do they stand that it is said that no one has been known to count them over twice with the same result.

of a once busy Cistercian monastery, with its daily round of prayer, and labour, and almsdeeds.

The description of an Abbey, especially of one that has such a history as this at Boxley, may well be prefaced by a short account of Monasteries generally. The Monastic system, be it remembered,—which had its rise in Egypt, that cradle of asceticism, though now commonly, and perhaps not unnaturally, associated with traditions of superstition and imposture, for which, alas, Boxley Abbey attained to so unhappy a notoriety—had its birth in a spirit of deep and earnest devotion. The belief that an ascetic life conduced to a higher spirituality—and was therefore more acceptable to God—that utter seclusion from the world and all its attractions and distractions was more conducive to meditation—that the exercise of self-denial, under absence of all means of self-indulgence, tended to form characters of deeper piety and greater usefulness—as well as being of higher merit—then, that life in a brotherhood, under a *rule*, was more beneficial to a man's own soul as well as to the souls of others—such thoughts, such hopes—shall we say such delusions? supplied the motive to Monastic life. Such was no doubt the *fons et origo* of the Religious Orders.

On such a conception, erroneous as the purer faith and knowledge of the 19th Century may regard it, rose Abbies, and Priories, and Nunneries or Convents, in the Middle Ages. They had also a secondary object; not only to promote and develop the spiritual life of the inmates, but also to meet the bodily and intellectual wants of the outer world. In those days of lawlessness or feudal oppression they were the “Cities of Refuge” for the weak and down-trodden; in those days of ignorance they supplied the Schools for

the young; they were the Dispensaries and Hospitals for the sick; and the "Store Cities" in times of famine or want; in a literary point of view they were, as has been well said, "the Treasuries of the learning that was, and the Nurseries of that which was to be." Nor is it too much to say, with Dr. Hook, that "Christianity must have ceased to exist if it had not been for the Monasteries."¹

Of the four principal Orders, the Benedictine, the Cistercian, the Carthusian, and the Augustinian, that of the Benedictines was the earliest, dating from the seventh Century, and the first to find a footing in England in the 11th. So rapidly did they everywhere rise in favour that in spite of their vows of personal poverty, endowments and offerings poured in so freely upon them that they soon became wealthy communities, and with this influx of wealth came the temptations to self-indulgence and luxury, until in the 11th Century some of the more devout members of the Benedictine Order withdrew from the main body and formed themselves into a separate independent society, resolved to carry out with greater strictness and primitive simplicity the rules laid down by their founder St. Benedict. These made their new home at Citeaux (Cistercium), near Dijon, and were thence known as Cistercians, and from their dress, as "White Monks."²

It was of the Cistercian branch of the Benedictines that the Abbey at Boxley was formed. It was originally founded by William d'Ypres, a natural son of Philip, Viscount d'Ypres, who had accompanied his kinsman,

¹ *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. ii., p. 325.

² Weever (*Funerall Monuments*, p. 289) says they were "White Monks of St. Bernard's Order," which was clearly an error, as St. Bernard was himself a Benedictine, of Clairvaux.

Stephen of Blois, on his usurpation of the English throne, and had been raised by him to what must have been regarded by the Anglo-Saxon nobles as the highest rank, the Earldom of Kent. Of this William d'Ypres it is said that, being anxious to relieve a conscience burdened with the remembrance of great barbarities perpetrated on the helpless inmates of the Nunnery of Wherwell, near Southampton, and of other cruelties of which he had been guilty in the cause of his usurping kinsman Stephen, he desired to make some atonement for his past sins, and in that spirit resolved to found an Abbey in which prayers might be offered daily for his soul. Selecting Boxley as the site, he introduced, in 1146, a body of Cistercian monks¹ from Clairvaux, in Burgundy,

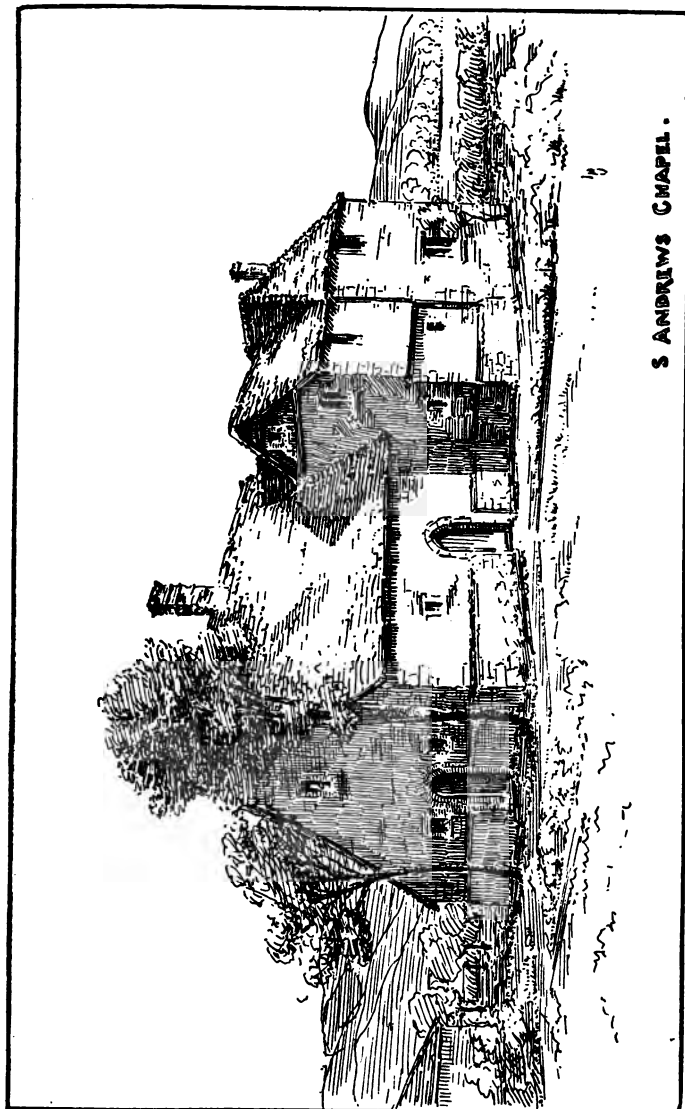
It is of this old Abbey we would give some account. But before passing within its precincts, we must pause to say a few words regarding the little wayside Chapel of St. Andrew,² still standing outside the walls, and long since converted into a cottage. It once had its own chaplain,³ and was no doubt designed for the use of the devout

¹ *Ipsius (Regis Stephani) assensu fundatum est cœnobium de Boxeleia per Willelmum d'Ipres, et Cantuariensi Ecclesie concessit et confirmavit Berkeseres et feodum Gaufridi de Ros. Gervase (Rolls Series), ii., p. 77.* When Henry II. succeeded to his rightful inheritance he banished William d'Ypres, who himself assumed a monastic life at the Abbey of Laons, in Flanders, and died there about 1163.

² A legendary connection between this saint and the neighbouring Pilgrims' Road may perhaps be traced in the story which Hone (*Every Day Book*, i., 1537) gives from the "Golden Legend," of a Bishop who was a devout worshipper of St. Andrew being assailed by the devil in the shape of a very beautiful woman, and being rescued by the sudden appearance of his patron saint in the form of a pilgrim.

³ In the Will of John Parsons (Cant. Consist. Ct., iii., 253) is the clause, "Item lego Capelle Curato S'ti Andree Apostoli juxta portam exteriorem Monasterii, Cujus Parochianus sum, unum Banner Cloth de Ceriso.

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ST ANDREWS CHAPEL.

BOXLEY, KENT.

pilgrims, as, on their way to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, they threaded their way along the narrow lane that runs hard by, and is to this day known as the Pilgrims' Road. In the process of adaptation for domestic use, partitions and staircases have done much to block up and conceal many details of interest within, yet externally enough remains to convey a very fair conception of its original character. Its western doorway is in good preservation, and, better still, the two side-doors on the north and south. In the western gable over the door, the space now hideously filled in with modern brick suggests the former presence of the square-headed, three-light window of the fourteenth century, now built into a recent south wall; while at the east end are signs no less distinct of a large pointed window, the space, too, filled in with brick. There is also the little priest's door near the east end of the original south wall, and the frame work, now filled in, of two squints, or *hagioscopes*, for the use of casual passers-by at the elevation of the Host.

The entrance to the grounds of the Abbey itself is between the brick-faced piers of a stone gateway, into a walled enclosure of some 15 acres, in which, with the single exception of a goodly barn, to be mentioned presently, not a vestige of the original buildings remains. A comfortable modern house occupies a prominent position. But nothing is left by which the slightest clue can be obtained to the relative positions of the several parts, and such seems to have been its condition above a Century ago.

In his account of a visit paid to the Abbey in 1774, which is preserved in his autograph MS. at the British Museum,¹ Hasted says that the approach had originally

¹ Cott. MSS. 5486, p. 83.

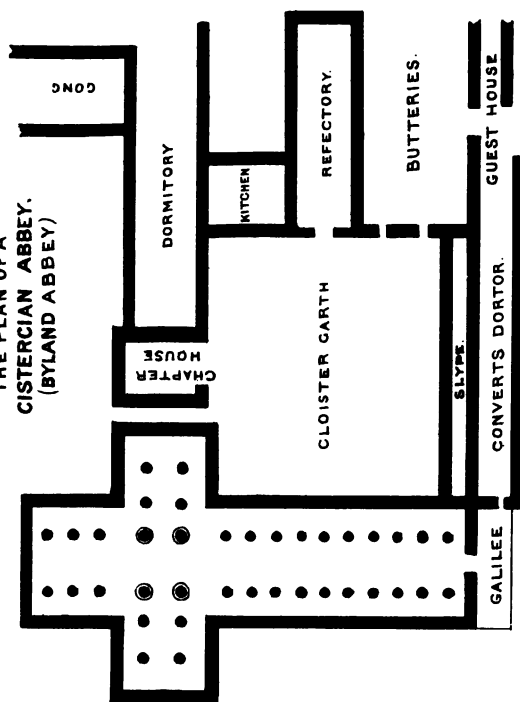
"been by a double arched Gateway, the arches of both which were then lying in ruins, having been recently demolished." In corroboration of this there is a very rare old print, without date or name, also preserved in the British Museum,¹ in which the two Gateways are represented. Of these the outer one, in the line of the outer walls, still stands with its brick jambs, but without the crown of the arch; the inner Gateway, nearer the present house, has quite disappeared; as given in the print, it must have been of very late Tudor period, with a bold horizontal label or weather-moulding, without pendants, and with a shield in each spandrel.

Standing within these now ruined and crumbling boundary walls—amid banks and terraces raised out of the scattered blocks of stone that erst had their places in the various parts of the ancient buildings, but in the construction of which all the old lines and landmarks have been wholly effaced—it is still pleasant, and not wholly unprofitable withal, to build anew in fancy the once noted, if eventually notorious, Abbey, though nothing now remains by which the several buildings can be traced out and identified. Still the Cistercian Monasteries were so closely built on the same plan that by analogy and comparison it is not impossible to sketch out the old lines of building and to present to the mind's eye the Monastic pile as it once appeared.

Along the South side we might imagine the Church standing; from it towards the Eastern and Western ends, branching off at right angles, and in parallel lines, the more secular buildings: the Chapter House, the Abbot's apartments, the Dormitories for the Monks, those

¹ Additional MSS., No. 32354, p. 84.

THE PLAN OF A
CISTERCIAN ABBEY.
(BYLAND ABBEY)



for Guests or Strangers, &c., all crossed, and closed in on the North side, by the Refectory, or Dining Hall, Kitchen, Butlery, Cellar, &c.; thus enclosing an open square, round which run the Cloisters, or covered arcade, supported by richly carved and moulded piers or arches of stone; within the centre, lying open to the sunshine, yet screened from the wind, the little garden-plot, or *Garth*. Here in summer and winter the Monks, during intervals of work or prayer, passed their leisure time, reading, or teaching, or tending their flowers. Here nature and art combined to shed a charm over their "cloistered solitude."

But above all this group would rise the Church—with its graceful steeple¹ towering over all, its high pitched roof, its Chancel, Nave, and Transepts standing up lofty and conspicuous—the most substantial portion of the whole range, and the most richly ornamented: the brethren, having bestowed on it the best of their labour and skill, having lavished all the art and taste they could command or purchase, to make it "very magnificent,"—was it not their pride and delight, the very heart of their religious system, the shrine of their daily lives?—its richly decorated windows too, filled with storied panes, telling of some mysterious incident in the legendary life of the Virgin Mary, to whom, like all Cistercian Chapels, this would be dedicated, completing the group.

But as to internal arrangements we are not left to draw so entirely on fancy. A few facts are forthcoming, drawn out of the recesses of the Will Department at Somerset House, or those of the Prerogative Court at Canterbury,

¹ In the grant of the Abbey to Sir Thomas Wyatt, by Henry VIII., distinct mention is made of a *steeple*. Augm. Office Records, Box A, 55.

to enable us to fill up the picture with some reliable and interesting details.

There was a Chapel of St. Stephen here, for a representative of the old Kentish family of Frenyngham appears to have endowed a Chantry, as also one at Lose, as the burial place of several members of his family.¹

It is clear too that men of mark or wealth did covet for their bodies, after life's fitful fever had run its course, a resting-place within its walls, or precincts. Robert Vineter (or Vyntier), who had endowed the Chantry already alluded to, in All Saints Church, Maidstone, the owner of the Manor still bearing his name, "Vinters,"² in his Will, dated July 5, 1369, expressed the desire to be buried at the Abbey, leaving it to the Abbot to assign a place.³ In 1385 (Sir) Robert de Bourne (or Burne), a member of a goodly family, himself the Rector of Frekenham in Suffolk, who seems to have made Boxley his home, expressly desired to be buried within the Abbey Chapel, and specified the very spot he chose—in the North side, between the altars of the Apostles and the Martyrs; while in front of his own tomb he wished that a third altar should be erected in honour of the three Virgins, SS. Katherine, Margaret, and Agatha, and the three Confessors, SS. Michael, Martin,

¹ His Will runs thus: that he will endow "*duos capellanos idoneos, scilicet, unum Monasterio de Boxele ad altare S'ti Stephani coram quo corpora Johannis Frenyngham de Lose, Alicie uxoris ejus, Radulphi Frenyngham militis, patris ejusdem Johannis, et Domine Katherine uxoris predicti Radulphi, &c., &c., sepulta sunt et humata.*" Addit. Chart., British Museum, 16474.

² See page 4.

³ Abp. Langham's Register (Lambeth) f. 120, b, "*In Monasterio Beate Marie de Boxele, ubi Abbas dicti loci sepulturam in Monasterio assignare voluerit.*"

and Dunstan.¹ In 1489 one John Kember, who described himself as living within the Abbey-gate, and probably was a lay-brother of the Monastery, selected his burial-place within the Chapel, before the image of the Virgin.² While in 1512 Sir Thomas Bouchier, Knight, a nephew of the Cardinal Archbishop, desired to be buried in the "cemetery of the Abbey," and left a sum of money to "edify and make a Chapell and an aultar, and to found a Chapleyan to pray for his soul and the souls of his uncle" and other relatives.³

This Sir Thomas Bouchier has his record in English history. Being an object of suspicion with Richard III., he was placed under the command and eye of Sir Thomas Brackenbury, the ill-famed Lieutenant of the Tower, and was summoned to the King's camp, at Bosworth Field, but on the very eve of the Battle he justified Richard's suspicion by escaping with several other Knights into that of Richmond, and placing himself under his banner.⁴

But of all this nothing now remains save one single flat tombstone in the green sward, without a name or mark, beyond a foliated cross, to tell its tale; while buried in the interior of a comparatively modern dwelling-house are the massive foundations of some portion of the main building; or, inserted in some side-wall, as a relic or a curiosity, a fragment of stone carving, which erst formed part of a

¹ Will of Robert de Bourne, clerk, "Infra ecclesiam Conventualem Monasterii de Boxle in medio inter altare Apostol' et altare Martyrum ex parte boreali, &c." Somerset House, Rous, i.

² Will of John Kember, *ibid.*, Milles 43. The name long continued in the parish, which was indebted to one of the family for a charitable bequest in 1611.

³ Will of Sir Thomas Bouchier, Knight, *Ibid.*, Fetiplace 15.

⁴ Gairdner's *Richard III.*, p. 292. Speed's *History*, p. 932. Grafton's *Chronicle* p. 843.

jamb or spandrel ; or tracery of a long-since ruthlessly demolished doorway or window. The massive and spacious granary or barn¹ alone stands in its entirety, retaining its original character and use ; its spaciousness, so essential a feature of a Cistercian house, implying that it was designed to be something more than a mere garner for the use of the small staff of an Abbot and eight Monks, with a corresponding body of labourers to till the land, but rather as a storehouse, from which in time of need the wants of the neighbouring poor might be supplied.

Thus much regarding the Abbey and its Church.

While probably the earliest of the Benedictine Monasteries in England was that of Christ Church, Canterbury, that of Boxley was one of the first of the Cistercian Order. And though virtually independent of each other in their internal administration, they had, as will be seen, many connecting links of fraternal intercourse, each the while adhering to its own rules and work. The Benedictines at Canterbury,² cultivating learning, soon produced from among their Monks two of England's most valued Chroniclers, Eadmer and Gervase ; the Cistercians at Boxley rather applied themselves to the tillage of the soil, and with no little success, as the appearance of the neighbouring lands to this day testifies.³

¹ Recently well restored by its present owner, Major Mawdistley Best, of Park House.

² It should be borne in mind that where in these pages mention is made of the Canterbury Monastery, the Benedictine priory of Christ Church connected with the Cathedral is meant, and not, unless specially named, the more famed St. Augustine's Abbey, which was also Benedictine.

³ It may not be generally known that at the present day there exists in the Charnwood Forest, near Lutterworth, a Cistercian Monastery (almost on the site of the Garendon Abbey, which was dissolved by Henry VIII.) which, true to its character, has turned a wilderness into a garden.

From its earliest days the Abbey found friends. Foremost among them came Richard I. In 1189 he conferred on it in "Franc-almoyne" the Manor of Boxley.¹ Henry III., in 1253, confirmed the grant, and in addition granted to it the right of holding a weekly market (no slight privilege in those feudal days) at a place then and still known as "Farthings," and now represented by a group of cottages near the Abbey walls. In the following century considerable accession of land was obtained either by gift, or bequest, or purchase. Neighbouring land-owners dedicated portions of their estates to its support. For instance the family of Burleghe were liberal benefactors. Margery, the daughter of Laurence Burleghe,² in the year 1316, granted some in "a place called Burleghe," no doubt that now known as Boarley, the value of which would be greatly enhanced by its carrying the Abbey land up to, and above, the Pilgrims' Road and including the fountain head of the spring which flowing down from the hill side provided the water supply for the Abbey itself. Then the same year another member of the family, Richard, the son of Reginald Borleghe,³ made a further grant of a place called Maylefelde. A still further grant of adjoining land was made by a married sister, Margery Loth,⁴ a few years later.

About this time appears the name of Alexander *Kumba*, as contributing a piece of land, comprising "a Mill and ten acres of Wareland."⁵ There were added at different

¹ Harleian MSS., 6748, I6.

² Calendar of Ancient Deeds (Record Office), 10 Edw. II., B. 444.

³ *Ibid*, B. 446.

⁴ *Ibid*, *Ibid*, B. 457.

⁵ *Ibid*. B. 646.

times those of Horpole (now Harple) and Weaving, with Tattelmel, and Burcheland.¹

Passing beyond the bounds of the Parish itself, we find the Abbey so favourably regarded as to be made the recipient of important grants of land, tithes, and Advowsons, even at a distance, especially in the fertile Isle of Sheppey, and that of Grain. Two at least of these testify to the esteem in which the Abbey was held. In the Isle of Sheppey is the Parish of East Church. The revenues of this Parish had been appropriated by the Abbey of St. Denys, in Flanders, and misused; whereupon Abp. Hubert Walter, so early as the year 1200, had planned to confer them on Boxley Abbey, in recognition of their liberal exercise of hospitality towards all comers, especially Pilgrims. However, years passed on and the plan was not carried out, till in 1313 Henry de Estria, the energetic Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, acting, *sede vacante*, on the death of Abp. Winchelsea, gave effect to the wish of Abp. Hubert Walter, and the transfer of the Manor and the Advowson was completed,² to meet the heavy calls on the Boxley hospitality. How often the Abbey exercised the right of patronage thus conferred is not known; the one single instance recorded in the Lambeth Registers was on a vacancy occurring in 1323 when they presented Galfridus (Geoffrey) de Freusthope "*ad vicariam Ecclesie de Estchirche in Scapeya*."³

A Century later, in 1430, a member of the influential family of Cheyne, or Cheney, of Shurland, made a grant

¹ Patent Rolls, 9 Henry V., p. i., m. 5. P. R., 9 Henry VI., p. ii., m. 4.

² Confirmed by Abp. Reynolds, and recited by "Inspeximus," Abp. Warham's Register, f. 135.

³ Abp. Reynold's Register, f. 250, b., and Patent Rolls, 9 Henry VI., part ii., m. 4,

of land to the Abbey on condition "that the Abbot and Convent should transfer the Church, which they hold to their own use, and which is nearly in ruins, on account of the poorness of the ground on which it is built, with the consent of Henry (Chichele), Archbishop of Canterbury, to the ground now granted to them, on which they shall construct anew the Parish Church of the said Parish."

Another grant was made to the Abbey on the neighbouring Isle of Grain. The Manorial rights of the Parish of Stoke, at Hoo, had been conferred by Eadgar, King of Kent, in 762, on the Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester, and was among those recovered by Lanfranc in 1076, from the clutches of Odo, Bishop of Baieux. In the Parish lived a family named Malemaynes, their property still known as Malman's Hall. A member of the family, Ralph Malemayne, became a Monk of St. Andrew's Priory, and granted to it the Tithes also of Stoke, in the reign of Henry I., with whom the Manor, Advowson and Tithes remained until the year 1244, when in acknowledgement of the exemplary character and hospitality of Boxley Abbey, Richard de Wéndover, Bishop of Rochester,¹ sanctioned the transfer to it of the Manor and Tithes of that Parish. Sixty years after, the Malemaynes, still retaining the ancient property, obtained from Abbot Robert of Boxley, exercising it would seem a power which rather belonged to the Diocesan, granted to Sir John Malemayne the privilege of constructing an Oratory attached to his Manor house for the use of himself and

¹ "Ricardus Dei Gratia, Episcopus Roffensis, &c., &c., dedimus et concessimus Abbati et Conventui de Boxele ecclesiam Parochialem de Stokes, &c., quod domus de Boxele passim et sine delictu personaliter exhibit univ[er]sis ad eandem domum confluentibus hospitalitatem, &c." *Reg. Roff.*, p. 620.

family when prevented by illness or weather from attending the services of the Parish Church, from which they were so distant.¹

From a much more humble source came yet another grant in the same tract, Geoffrey, the son of John, *fabr* (the Smith), with Edith his wife, gives to the Abbey a piece of land in Ellyottfelde, in the Vill of St. Wereburge, at Hoo.

At a very early period of the Abbey's existence an official seal would seem to have been in use. The impression of a small one has been preserved in the British Museum, attached to a Charter of the 13th Century,² in the form of a "*vesica piscis*," representing the Abbot in full pontificals, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand, a book in his left, with the inscription running round,

"Sigillum Abbatis De Boxele."

Attached to another Charter of the year 1336³ is a much finer and larger seal of very elaborate workmanship, though unfortunately not quite perfect. Enough however remains, with the aid of other fragments of the same seal on other Charters, to admit of the whole design being traced out. On the *obverse*, under a three-arched canopy, or arcade of three pointed arches, trefoiled, pinnaced, and crocketed, supported by a column of tabernacle work on either side, each column having in the middle a small quatrefoiled opening containing the head of a Saint, probably SS. Benedict and Bernard; the Virgin sits on a richly carved throne, wearing a crown,

¹ *Registrum Rossense*, p. 623.

² Additional Charters (British Museum), lxx. 4.

³ Additional Charters, 20,008, referring to a lease of land in Hollingborne, granted by the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury to the Abbot and Convent of Boxley.

BOXLEY ABBEY.

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Abbot's Seal
of 13th Century.

Seal of the Abbey, attached to a Lease dated A.D. 1336.

and holding in her right hand a cinquefoiled rose, while on her left knee, supported by her left arm, is seated the child Jesus, his head surrounded by a *nimbus*, his right hand raised up as in the act of benediction, his left hand holding an orb. At the base, under a wide trefoiled arch, are the faces of three Monks, in profile, as though raised in prayer, while on either side of the field, outside the columns of the canopy, is a branch of a box-tree, as though referring to the origin of the name of the village. The legend runs round in two rings; the outer one is—

“**Sigillum [Comm]une Eccl’ B’tē Marie de
Boxele,”**

the inner one—

“**Sit Buxus [Grata]tibi Cor[di] Virgo Beata.”**]

On the *reverse* appear two Abbots, (SS. Benedict and Bernard) each standing in a trefoiled niche or recess of a double canopy, holding in one hand a pastoral staff curved outwards, and in the other a book, the canopy supported by panelled buttresses on either side, and by a light column in the centre separating the two figures, with a branch of a box-tree on the field on each side, as in the *obverse*. The legends here are less perfect, also run in two circles, and are thus conjectured: on the outer—

[“**Qui Laudant Hic Te]defende Tuos
Ben[e]d[i]cte,”**

and on the inner—

“**Propiciam Facito Ber[narde] Mariam.”**¹

Nor was the Abbey all this time only the favoured

¹ The author is indebted to W. de Gray Birch's *Catalogue of Seals*, p. 453, for these suggested inscriptions, and to him and to the principal Librarian of the British Museum for permission to use the seals.

recipient of benefactions and endowments to be expended on their own estate. As their coffers filled and their influence increased, they adopted the course not uncommon among the more wealthy Religious Houses, of founding a daughter Priory out of the superfluity of their revenues. In a remote corner of the Parish of Salehurst, in Sussex, where a bridge crossed the river Rother, from whence the little Hamlet took the name of Rotherbridge, they selected a spot for their new Priory. It needed but the change of three letters to alter the old name into that which would supply a permanent association with one so highly venerated by the whole of the Cistercian Order, as St. Robert, the first Abbot of St. Michael de Tonnerre, and the real founder of the brotherhood at Citeaux. So Rotherbridge became *Roberti Pons*, or Robertsbridge.¹

In other quarters too we find them giving of their abundance to promote what in that day was ignorantly regarded as most acceptable to God, and beneficial to the souls of their fellow men. They endowed with six marks yearly a Chantry at the neighbouring Church of Halling, and with a similar sum one at Horsmunden.²

Once, at least, was the Abbey honoured by the presence of Royalty, an event which demands special notice, both because a writer on Kentish history has called it in question,³ and also because it explains an important

¹ Horsfield's *Sussex*, p. 582.

² *Registrum Roffense*, pp. 400, 429.

³ Brayley, in his *Beauties of England and Wales* (Kent, p. 1236), says that Philipott, Hasted, and Harris are all in error in supposing that Edward II. issued any such Charter, and that the only Charter the King issued to the City at this time was one exempting the citizens from all future levies for carrying on war out of the City, and that that Charter was dated from Aldermanston. Now, the Aldermanston Charter was dated on December 12, whereas the one conferring the right to elect their own Mayor was dated from Boxley on October 25 preceding (*Historical Charters of the City of London*, ed. Birch, 1887, p. 51). See Appendix F.

change in the civic government of London. When, in 1321, Edward II. was marching on Leeds Castle to inflict condign punishment on the seneschal (a Colepeper) for refusing to admit Queen Isabel into her own Castle for a night's lodging, on her pilgrimage to Canterbury, he halted here, and from hence issued a most important Charter to the City of London. The Charter granted by King John had allowed the substitution of the title "Mayor" for the previous one of "Bailiff" to its chief officer; but the appointment to the office, though nominally placed in the hands of the citizens, practically lay with the Crown, and was held at the King's pleasure, being often retained for life, the first mayor, Henry Fitz-Alwyn, holding it for about twenty-four years. Now, Edward II., moved with special gratitude to the City for their ready aid in sending him levies in his attack on Leeds Castle, conferred on them a Charter, giving them the free choice of their Mayor from their own body, subject only to the king's approval; and this charter¹ was dated from Boxley, presumably from the Abbey, as being the only house capable of giving fitting reception to the King.

This visit belongs to the earlier history of the Abbey: again, when its days were nearly numbered, it received within its walls another visitor of scarcely less dignity and importance, one of the "Princes of the Roman Church," Cardinal Campeggio, whom the Pope had sent over to England, as Legate *a latere*, to endeavour to adjudicate with Archbishop Warham on the momentous question of the King's divorce. He arrived in England in 1518, and having taken part in a gorgeous ceremonial at Canterbury, on his way to London, halted for one night at the Abbey

¹ Patent Rolls, 15 Edw. II., part i., m. 2.

at Boxley, to have an interview with the Primate, who was staying there.¹ But Cardinal and Primate combined were powerless before the imperious Henry.

One incident in the history of the Abbey, (if the statement of one of the parties concerned is to be accepted), would seem hardly to redound to the credit of the Abbey.² Juvenal has said, "Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit;" and perhaps the acquisition of land may have produced what is now-a-days called "land-hunger," and have made them the less scrupulous in their mode of obtaining it. In *Registrum Roffense* it appears as a formal complaint made by Hugo, Count of St. Paul, or St. Pol, that his Bailiff had been negotiating with the Canons of the Lesnes Abbey, near Erith, for the purchase of a piece of land (*essartum*) near Dartford, and a messenger had been sent to apprise him of the sale; but the Monks of Boxley, also desiring the land, had intercepted, and by bribes, delayed the messenger, and came direct to him in Normandy with an offer for the land, and he, in utter ignorance of the Bailiff's action, had accepted their offer. But, directly he discovered the trick that had been played upon him, he indignantly repudiated the sale and cancelled it. Charity may suggest that this account given by the Count was one-sided and perhaps exaggerated, and simply a case of two parties trying to outbid each other. It were sad indeed if a "Religious House" descended to a course which even a Pagan Satirist

¹ Patent Rolls, 11 Henry VIII., pt. 2, m. 21. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, vol. ii. p. 1336 (No. 4333).

² With this qualification the author feels justified in giving in Appendix G the full text of the entry in the Register, *Temporal. Episcop. Roffensium.*, quoted in *Registrum Roffense*, p. 316, and very inaccurately translated by Lambarde, Perambul. 235.

denounces as that which a corrupt minded unprincipled man might justify :

“ Recte si possis ; si non, quocunque modo rem.”

The connection of Boxley Abbey with its daughter Priory of Robertsbridge, and that of Christ Church, Canterbury, already alluded to, would seem to have produced strangely opposite results. The Chapter Records divulge the tale that the more rigid discipline of the Cistercians here enforced was from time to time taken advantage of by the Canterbury Benedictines for a twofold purpose. When, for instance, a Monk at Canterbury found the greater laxness of the rule there detrimental to the well-being of his soul, he would himself apply to be transferred to Boxley, or Robertsbridge ;¹ while, on the other hand, a troublesome, intractable brother would now and again be sent from Canterbury to Boxley, in the hope that the sterner discipline might subdue his spirit. A striking illustration of the latter process is given in the case of one William Powns, a Monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who had been guilty of fragrant irregularity and insubordination, and who, but for the intervention of influential friends, would have been subjected to far severer punishment, had at their pleading his sentence commuted to a transference from the more lax and easy-going fraternity of the Benedictines to the more strict and laborious *regime* of the Cistercians. In the one case Boxley Abbey would serve as a “ Retreat ;” in the other as a “ Reformatory.”²

It is from these points of view, and in its earlier days,

¹ *Canterbury Chapter Records*. G. 123, &c.

² (*Sede Vacante Records of the Canterbury Chapter*, N. 177, 179. *Litteræ Cantuarienses* (Sheppard) 111, 172, et seq.

that both as a religious house and as a political influence, Boxley Abbey appears at its brightest and best.

Another side to this picture of Boxley Abbey, and a far less pleasing one to contemplate, is presented in the pages of later Chroniclers, and it, too, if indirectly, may to some extent be traced to its proximity and connection with Canterbury during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Pilgrimages had come to be the order of the day, the rage of the times. Some saintly relic, however small, was everywhere eagerly sought for to supply an attraction for the piety and liberality of the devout. Now Canterbury eclipsed all other "holy places" in England in the possession of the very body of the martyred Becket, "St. Thomas of Canterbury," as he was reverently styled. To his shrine thronged crowds of votaries—royal, noble, and plebeian, "earl and churl" alike; into the Canterbury coffers flowed streams of costly offerings, to the great gain, as well as the glory, of the Monastery. All that Boxley could offer at first appears to have been only "the little finger of St. Andrew encased in silver," until a strange mysterious chance brought a double attraction—nothing less than that miraculous touch-stone of purity, the image of St. Rumwald, sometimes called St. Grumbald, and more wondrous still,—what was itself a standing miracle,—the crucifix, seemingly instinct with life and knowledge, commonly known as "The Rood of Grace."¹

Before these the finger of St. Andrew became quite a secondary object of worship;² indeed, so much did the

¹ In the will of Rest Redfyn, widow of Nicholas Redfyn, of Queenborough (Canterbury Registry), a bequest is made to the "Roode of Grace," which is termed a "woman of wax," i.e., a waxen figure of the Virgin. (*Arch. Cantiana*, xi., 62).

² It was eventually pawned for £40.

fame and importance of the Abbey centre in this Crucifix that the original style of the dedication "to St. Mary the Virgin" was soon—so early at least as 1412—absorbed into that of "the Abbey of the Rood of Grace" (*Abbatia Sancte Crucis de Gratiis*).¹ And even the glory of the shrine of St. Thomas began to pale into insignificance in the eyes of the devout pilgrims, whose journey towards Canterbury was doubtless often arrested by the greater attraction of Boxley. Thus did the spirit of greed creep into that poverty-vowed community, and find in success, acting on the prevalent ignorance and superstition, an excuse for, and justification of, the adoption of a "pious fraud."

At what exact time these images made their appearance in the Abbey Chapel is not recorded. Indeed, the origin and history of St. Rumbald is a perfect blank; not so that of "the Rood of Grace." To old William Lambarde we are indebted for an account of the circumstances under which it arrived here. And lest the very strangeness of his recital should lay him open to the charge of invention, he prefaces his narrative with the declaration that he "set it downe in such sorte onely as the same was sometime by themselves published in print for their estimation and credite, and yet remaineth deeply imprinted in the mindes and memories of many on live (alive) to their everlasting reproche, shame, and confusion." Thus Lambarde's account, now so vehemently repudiated by modern Romanists, comes to us on the testimony of the monks themselves—a testimony to which, at any rate according to him, they had set their own hand and seal.

The story as told by him in his quaint yet graphic

¹ Close Roll, 10 Henry VI., m. 5.

language, under the marginal title "*The ungratious Roode of Grace*" runs thus,¹

"It chaunced (as the tale is) that upon a time a cunning Carpenter of our countrie was taken prisoner in the warres between us and Fraunce, who (wanting otherwise to satisfy for his ransome, and having good leysure to devise for his deliverance) thought it best to attempt some curious enterprise, within the compass of his owne art and skill, to make himself some money withal; and therefore getting together fit matter for his purpose he compacted of wood, wyer, paste, and paper, a Roode of such exquisite arte and excellencie that it not onely matched in comelyness and due proportion of the partes the best of the common sort, but in straunger motion, varietie of gesture, and nimbleness of joints, passed all other that before were seen; the same being able to bow down and lift up itselfe, to shake and stirre the handes and feete, to nod the head, to rolle the eies, to wag the chaps, to bend the browes, and finally to represent to the eie, both the proper motion of each member of the body, and also a lively, expresse, and significant shew of a well contented or displeased minde, bytyng the lip and gathering a frowning froward and disdainful face, when it would pretend offence, and shewing a most milde, amyable and smyling cheere and countenance when it would seeme to be well pleased. This carpenter having obtained his liberty, came over into the Realme of purpose to better his merchandise, and layde the image upon the backe of a jade that he drave before him. Now when he was come so farre as to Rochester on his way, he waxed drie by reason of travaile, and called at an ale house for drinke to refreshe him, suffering his

¹ *Perambulations of Kent* (1576), p. 227.

horse nevertheless to go forwarde alone along the Citie.

“This jade was no sooner out of site, but he missed the streight western way that his master intended to have gone, and turning Southe, made a great pace toward Boxley, and being driven, as it were, by some divine furie, never ceased jogging till he came at the Abbay Church door, where he so beat and bounced with his heeles, that divers of the Monkes heard the noise, came to the place to knowe the cause, and (marvelling at the straungeness of the thing) called the Abbat and the Convent to beholde it.

“These good men seeing the horse so earnest, and discerning what he had on his backe, for doubt of deadly impietie, opened the doore; which they had no sooner done, but the horse rushed in and ranne in great haste to a pillar (which was the verie place where this image was afterwarde advaunced) and there stopped himself and stooode still.

“Now while the Monkes were busie to take off the lode, in cometh the carpenter (that by great inquisition had followed) and he challenged his owne; the Monkes, loth to lose so beneficial a stray, at the first make some deniall, but afterward, being assured by all signes that he was the verie Proprietarie, they graunt him to take it with him. The carpenter then taketh the horse by the head, and first assayeth to leade him out of the Church; but he would not stirre for him. Then beateth he and striketh him, but the jade was so restie and fast nailed, that he woulde not once remove his foote from the pillar. At the last he taketh off the image, thinking to have carried it out by itselfe, and then to have led the horse after, but that also cleaved so fast to the place that notwithstanding all that

ever he (and the Monkes also, which at the length were contented for pitie's sake to help him) could doe, it would not be moved one inche from it, so that in the ende, partly of weariness in wrestling, and partly by persuasion of the Monkes, which were in love with the Picture, and made him beleieve it was by God himselfe destinate to their house, the carpenter was contented for a peece of money to go his way and leave the Rood behind him. Thus you see the generation of this the great GOD of Boxley."

Of the time or circumstances under which the companion image of St. Rumwald was introduced into the Abbey even Lambarde tells nothing, beyond the tradition respecting this "wonderful saint;" this is briefly told: a Pagan King of Northumbria named Alfred, early in the seventh century, had married Cyneburga, the daughter of Penda, the Christian King of Mercia, who had converted her husband, and bore him a son whose birth was attended by a strange miracle. As soon as he was born (says Lambarde) "he repeatedly cried with a lowde voice, '*Christianus sum—Christianus sum.*' I am a Christian—I am a Christian. And not ceassing thus, made forthwith plaine profession of his faith, desired to be baptized, chose his Godfathers, named himselfe Rumwald, and with his finger directed the standers by to fetch him a great hollow stone that hee would have to be used for the Fonte.

"Hereupon sundry of the King's servants assaied to have brought the stone, but it was so far above all their strengthe that they could not once move it. When the Childe perceaved that, he commaunded the two Priestes (his appointed Godfathers) to goe and bring it, which they did forthwith most easily. This done, he was baptized, and within three daies after (having in the meanwhile

discoursed cunningly on sundry matters of religion, and explained his wishes regarding the disposal of his body) his spirit departed, and was, by the handes of Aungels, conveied into heaven.”¹

Thus far Lambarde tells the tale of the arrival of the Roode of Grace, and of the origin of the “pretty boy Sainte” Rumwald. Now of the uses to which these two images were put; “howe lewdly these Monkes, to their owne enriching and the spoil of God’s people, abused this wooden God,” he goes on to explain “on the authority of a good sort yet on live (alive) that saw the fraud openly detected at Paules Crosse.”²

“If you minded to have benefit of the Roode of Grace, you ought first to bee shriven of one of the Monkes; then by lifting at this other image (which was of the common sort called St. Grumbald) you shoulde make prooffe whether you were in cleane life or no, and if you so found yourselfe then was your way prepared, and your offering acceptable before the Roode; if not, then it behoved you to be confessed anew, for it was to be thought that you had concealed somewhat from your ghostly dad, and therefore not worthie to be admitted *Ad Sacra Eleusina*.

“Now that you may knowe how this examination was to be made, you must understande that this Saint Rumwald was of stone, of itselfe short, and not seeming to be heavie; but forasmuch as it was wrought out of a great and weightie stone, it was hardly to be lifted by the handes of the strongest man. Neverthelesse (such was the conveyhance) by the helpe of an engine fixed to the backe thereof, it was easily prised up by the foote of him that was the keeper; and therefore of no moment at

¹ *Perambulations of Kent*, p. 234.

² *Ibid*, 230.

all in the handes of such as had offered frankly; and contrariwise by the meane of a pinne, running into a poste (which that religious impostor, standing out of sight, could put in and pull out at his pleasure), it was to such as offered faintly, so fast and unmoveable, that no force of hande might once stirre it.

“But marke here, I beseech you, their policie in picking plaine men’s purses. It was in vaine, as they persuaded. to presume to the Roode without shrifte, yea and money lost there also if you offered before you were in cleane life, and therefore the matter was so handled that without treble oblation, that is to say, first to the Confessor, then to Saint Rumwald, and lastly to the Gracious Roode, the poore Pilgrimes could not assure themselves of any good gained by all their labour.”¹

Thus was the superstition of the age being fed: thus were the coffers of the Abbey filled.

Even the astute and penurious Henry VII. appears among those who sent offerings to Boxley,² and his queen, too, Elizabeth of York in 1502.³

Strange as it may seem, so deep-rooted was the spirit of superstitious veneration even in high places and among the learned of that day, that they could not see the advancing shadows of the approaching cloud—the loud mutterings of the gathering storm that was to burst upon them, and sweep away the whole system out of the country.

Even in the 12th Century the immoralities and dishonesties of the Monasteries had furnished marks for the shaft of the Satirist. Nigellus, himself a Monk, and

¹ *Perambulation*, p. 233.

² *Excerpta Historia*, p. 91.

³ Privy Purse Expenses.

Precentor of Canterbury, in high favour too with William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, to whom he dedicated his poems, launches out in no measured terms against the prevailing iniquity, "Whether followers of Bernard or "Benedict (he says), or even the more lax rule of "Augustine, all alike were thieves, neither their fair "words or white robes were to be trusted."¹

To pass over two centuries, we find William Longland, also a Monk, attached to Malvern Abbey, denouncing with no less severity the state of Monasteries in his day. In his "Vision of Piers Ploughman" he describes the immorality and dishonesty of the Clerics as compared with even the laity :

"Lewed men (laymen),
And of litel knowyng,
Seldem falle thei so foule
And so fer in synne
As Clerkes of holy Chirche."

And with almost prophetic eye he forsees the time when

"There shall come a kynge
And confesse you Religiouses,
And bete you as the bible telleth,
For brekyng of youre rule,
And amende Monyals (Nuns),
Monkes and Chanons."

¹ Here is a specimen of the keenness of his satire :

"Qui duce Bernardo gradiuntur, vel Benedicto,
"Aut Augustino, sub leviori jugo,
"Omnes sunt fures, quocunque caractere sancto
"Signati veniant magnificentque Deum :
"Ne credas verbis, ne credas vestibus albis :
"Vix etenim factis est adhibenda fides."

Nigelli Speculum Stultorum, Rolls Series, vol. i., p. 109.

Every day was witnessing in one form or another the spreading feeling of discontent and abhorrence of the Romish practices and their palpable frauds. In 1521 it had reached the very doors of Boxley itself. The walls of the Abbey were to bear their testimony to the reforming zeal which was becoming so prevalent. Here had been posted up with all the sanctity which it was possible to impart to it a formal document emanating from the Pope, supported by the authority of the lord cardinal (Wolsey, at that time Legate *a latere*), and sealed with the seal of the Archbishop—a document denouncing the “yl (ill) opinions of Martine Luther.” Yet was this document torn off the Abbey wall by a priest, (Sir) Adam Bradshaw,¹ at the peril of his life; for it and other like deeds of insubordination, he was imprisoned at Maidstone, tried as a heretic, and consigned to the flames.

From other quarters, too, dangers were threatening the Religious Houses, and this Abbey among them, in spite of the great accession of wealth from the offerings made to the “Rood of Grace,” for Henry VIII. had laid heavy burdens upon the Monasteries, of which Boxley Abbey had to bear its share. Again, in 1522, to defray the expenses of his mad invasion of France, he levied a subsidy on the nation, on the laity generally one tenth, and on the clergy one fourth of their incomes, while Boxley Abbey was also called on to produce £50 under the plausible term of a Loan.

This subsidy and other dues had apparently fallen heavily into arrears, and in 1524 Archbishop Warham received instructions to institute an inquiry into the

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Foreign and Domestic*), Brewer, vol. iii., part i., p. 541; vol. iv., p. 299.

financial condition of the Abbey. He reports the result to Wolsey, as Legate *a latere*, and says that the Abbot "offers the security of his house for the payment of the money due to the king;" meanwhile, he declares he "would not have interfered, as the place is exempt, had he not been forced by the Act of Convocation authorizing him and the Bishop of London¹ to proceed against such as pay not their collect." He pleads, too, for both Abbey and Abbot. "As the place is much sought for from all parts of the realm visiting the 'Roode of Grace,' he would be sorry to put it under an interdict." The Abbot also, he urges, "is inclined to live precisely, and bring the place out of debt, or else it were a pity that he should live much longer there to the hurt of so holy a place, where so many miracles be showed."²

It is not impossible that the knowledge of this state of things in the Abbey exchequer may have emboldened the over-zealous Bradshaw to defy the authorities by his daring act, in the hope, perhaps, of expediting an exposure; and that, on the other hand, the consciousness of the real condition of the Abbey may have maddened the powers that were to persecute him to the bitter end.

To Bradshaw the consequences were fatal. To Warham—so learned and devout, yet so plastic in the hands of men of stronger will, and so deeply imbued with the credulity of the age as to be induced to avow a belief in the claims to inspiration of that impostor, Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, commonly known as "the Holy Maid of Kent"—to him the eventual exposure would indeed have been

¹ Cuthbert Tunstall.

² *Letters and Papers (Foreign and Domestic) of Henry VIII.*, (Brewer,) vol. iv., part i., p. 299 (Rolls series).

humiliating had he lived to witness it, and to see the fate of the Abbey for which he had pleaded so earnestly, and the dissolution of all the Monasteries in England. This, at least, he was spared by his death in 1533.

Before describing the last days of Boxley Abbey and the fate of "the Rood of Grace," it may not be out of place to trace briefly the stages through which this crusade against religious houses passed. Their endowments, like those of Churches, were composed of grants of lands or tithes made by individuals, whether kings, or nobles, or wealthy gentry, for the purposes of religion. Sometimes the grant would be made of land in England to a Monastery abroad, chiefly in Normandy, in which case the parent house, if it may be so called, would plant a daughter Priory on the manor thus given, and supply it with a body of their own monks. This would be called a cell ("*cella*") of the Monastery to which it belonged.

So frequently did this occur, that at one time there were about one hundred and fifty of these *cells*, or "Alien Priories," in England; and their Priors, like the mitred Abbots of the large Monasteries, would claim immunity from all control of English authorities, temporal and spiritual alike; and were therefore called "Exempt."

Now, in the reigns of the first three Edwards and that of Richard II., the king, when engaged in a war with France, would seize the revenues of these alien Priories towards covering his war expenses, instead of allowing them to go, as they otherwise would, to help the French king. Edward I. did so in 1285, Edward II. in 1322, Edward III. in 1337, and Richard II. in 1380; but in each case the revenues were restored when peace was pro-

claimed. Henry V., however, dealt far more summarily with them, appropriating no less than one hundred and ten of them to his own use, and making no restitution.

But the historic onslaught on the English Monasteries was in the days of Henry VIII., and then, be it remembered, under Papal sanction. In 1524, while as yet there were no signs of the coming rupture with Rome, Cardinal Wolsey had obtained from Clement VII. a Bull for the dissolution of certain Monasteries, and the transfer of their endowments for the foundation of his two Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; and four years after a further number were similarly dealt with for the creation of six additional Bishoprics. Thus was the principle of appropriating Monastic property for other purposes sanctioned, and it supplied the King with a precedent for carrying still further, and for less laudable and excusable objects, his system of Monastic spoliation. But another motive seems to have underlain even that of greed in the King's mind; in every Monastery he detected an outpost of the Pope's spiritual army for the recovery of England.¹

In the year 1536, Wolsey no longer controlling the King and Parliament, and the facile Cranmer having become Archbishop of Canterbury, an Act was passed sweeping away all lesser Monasteries, with incomes under £200 a year, on the ground that they were useless, and moreover, harbours of vice. Thus fell 376 houses, with revenues estimated at about £32,000 a year, and above £100,000 worth of plate and other valuables.

This was but the beginning. In the quaint language of the far-seeing ones of that day, "as yet the shrubs and underwoods were but touched, but the end would soon be

¹ Stowe's *Annals*, i., 89. Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

the fall of the lofty oaks.”¹ Nor was that end long in coming. A few months sufficed to bring it. The King and his courtiers, having tasted the sweets of the confiscated lands, greedily demanded more. Before the year 1537 had closed, the order had gone forth which doomed every Monastery and Nunnery in the kingdom to appropriation; and to give a specious air of legality to the proceedings, the “Court of Augmentations” was formed to receive and take charge of the proceeds as the King’s revenues.²

In the general downfall, Boxley Abbey was doomed, and, as was afterwards proved, deservedly so.

It is sometimes said that the jugglery of “the Rood of Grace” sealed its fate. But this is not strictly correct. The Abbey was involved in the general dissolution because *it was an Abbey*. And it was not until the commissioners had arrived here and taken possession that the “pious fraud” was fully exposed, even though the pretended miracles may have long before been the subject of doubt, and occasionally of ridicule. An examination of the dates, as well as the statement of Jeffery Chambers him-

¹ Godwin’s *Annals of Henry VIII.*, p. 84.

² A letter from Thomas (Lord) Wriothesley, written at the time the Dissolution of the Monasteries was impending, is not without interest here, as containing an allusion to Boxley. It is addressed by him to the King from Brussels: “On Saturday night supped with us the Marques of Barrowe, (Anthony, Margrave of Berghen, of Zoom), who semeth wel affected towardes your Highness, who also declared unto us what was thought in those parts of many, that all religion was extinct in Englande; and when we came to the woorde of religion he expounded it, that it was reappointed that with us we had no masse, that Sainctes were burned, and all that was taken for holye clerely subverted. We declared in such wise the religion of your Majestie, the abuses of Canterbury, Boxley, and other places; that he semed moche to rejoyse of th’ one, and to detest th’ other. Dated from Bruxelles the 20th November,—THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY.”—State Papers, Henry VIII. (Rolls Series), vol. v., p. 95.

self, the Commissioner, will show that whatever there might previously have been of rumour and suspicion, the real detection of the imposture followed, and did not itself cause, the surrender.

In November, 1537, Cromwell had noted down in an autograph volume of "Remembrances," still preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, "Must send for the Abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge with speed."¹ Clearly he acted promptly on his resolve. The Abbot was evidently sent for at once. Feeling he had fallen on evil days, and that his Abbey was doomed, but seeing that it had fared better with those who had surrendered with a good grace, and been pensioned, than with those who had resisted and been executed, he quickly entered into negotiations for surrender and pensions for himself and his brother Monks: for on the 3rd of the following January the liberal pension of £50 was assigned to him, and smaller ones to the Monks.

On the 29th of that month (January, 1537-8) the Commissioners arrived to receive the formal surrender and to take possession of the Abbey. Then it was the Abbot subscribed to the Supremacy, and then—and ostensibly not till then—the real character of the "Rood of Grace" was discovered.

Is there not a veil of irony thrown by Chambers over the statement he makes to Cromwell that the Abbot and some of the old Monks of whom he asked an explanation pleaded utter ignorance of the existence of the mechanical trickery he had brought to light?

It will be interesting to follow the wanderings of this

¹ Cott. MSS., Titus B. i., f. 437. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (Rolls Series), vol. xii., part ii., p. 409.

“ungracious Rood,” as Lambarde calls it. Its detection is thus described by Jeffery Chambers: who reports what he had himself seem. He writes thus to Crumwell early in February, 1538:

“Upon the defacing of the late Monastery of Boxley and plucking down of the images of the same, I found in the Image of the Roode of Grace, which heretofore hath been had in great veneration of people, certain engines and old wire with old rotten stykes (sticks) in the back of the same, that did cause the eyes of the same to move and stare (stir) in the head thereof like unto a living thing, and also the nether lip likewise to move, as though it would speak, which so found wires were not a little strange to me and others that were present at the plucking down of the same.

“Whereupon the Abbot, hearing this, did thither resort, whom, to my little wit (understanding) and cunning (skill), with others of the old Monks, I did examine of their knowledge of the premises, who do declare themselves to be ignorant of the same. So remitting the further (examination) unto your good lordship, when they shall repair unto London. Nevertheless, the said Abbot is sore sick that as yet he is not able to come.

“Further, when I had seen this strange subject, and considering that the inhabitants of the county of Kent had in time past a devotion to the same, and use to (make) continual pilgrimage thither, by the advice of others that were here with me, did convey the said image unto Mayston (Maidstone) this present Thursday, then being the market-day, did show it openly unto all the people there being present to see the false, crafty, and subtle handling thereof to the dishonour of God and the delusion

of the said people, who, I dare say, in case the said Monastery were to be defaced again (the King's grace not offended), they would either pluck it down to the ground, or else burn it, for they have the said matter in wondrous detestation and hatred, as at my repair unto your good lordship, and bringing the same image with me, whereupon I do somewhat tarry, and for the further defacing of the said late Monastery I shall declare unto you. . . . At Maydeston the vii. day of Feb.

“Your most bounden,

“JEFFRAY CHAMBERS.”¹

A letter of a month's later date, from another of Crumwell's Commissioners, Robert Southwell,² describes the state of the Abbey and the assignment of the pensions:

“Sir,—Theis pore men have not spared to confesse the treweth . . . whereby in my pore mynde they deserve the more favour, and I dare saie in their hartes thinke them selffes rather to have meryted perdon by their ignorance than prayse or lawde for their forme of lyvinge. Whether ther was cawse why that Boxley shulde recognyce as moche or more, it may please you to judge, whom it also pleased to shewe me the Idolle that stode thore, in myne opynyon a very monstuous sight. Here was also of late in this monastery a pece of Saint Andrew's fynger, covered with an unce of sylver or there aboute, a very precyows juell in the estimation of many, and now leyde to pledge by the monastery to one of the towne XL. li., whiche we intende nat to redeme of the pryce, execept we be

¹ Record Office, *Crumwell Correspondence*, vol. v., f. 210, also printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, iii., 168.

² Afterwards Master of the Rolls in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

commaunded so to do." Then speaking of the falling off of the income from 700 to 400 marcs, he continues, "There have growne no decay by this priour that we can learn, but surely his predecessours plesured moche in odoryferous savours, as it should seeme by their converting the rentes of their monastery, that were wonte to be paide in coyne and grayne, into gelofer flowers and roses. . . . Sir, we have practysed with the pore men for their pencions as easely to the Kynges charges and as moche to his graces honour as we could devyse . . . 3 of Merche.

"ROBERT SOUTHWELL."¹

Another account from a Maidstone man, who signs himself "Johannes Hokerus, Maidestoniensis," and whom Burnet erroneously calls a "Minister of Maidstone," will carry the Rood a step further. It runs thus:

"There was lately discovered a wooden god of Kentish folk, a hanging Christ, who might have vied with Proteus himself, for he most cunningly knew how to nod with his head, to scowl with his eyes, to wag his beard, to bend his body, to reject or receive the prayers of pilgrims. This (image), when the Monks lost their craft, was found in their church begirded with many a votice offering (*plurimo anathemate*), enriched with gifts of linen and wax, from town and country, and from foreign parts. . . . Throughout his hollowed body were hidden pipes, in which the master of the mysteries had introduced through little apertures a flexible wire, the passages being nevertheless concealed by thin plates. By such contrivances he had demented the people of Kent—aye, the whole of England

¹ Wright's *Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Society), p. 172; Cott. MSS., Cleop., E. IV., f. 218.

—for ages, with much gain. Being laid open, he afforded a sportive sight, first to all my Maidstonians. . . . From thence he was taken to London. He paid a visit to the Royal Court. This new guest salutes the King himself after a novel fashion. . . . (Here follows a highly graphic and palpably sensational detail.) The matter was referred to the Council. After a few days a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Rochester Hilsey). . . . Then, when the preacher began to wax warm, and the Word of God to work secretly in the hearts of the hearers, the wooden trunk was hurled among the most crowded of the audience. And now was heard a tremendous clamour. He is snatched, torn, broken in pieces, bit by bit, split up into a thousand fragments, and at last thrown into the fire : and thus was an end of him.”¹

Such was Hoker’s tale ; and he claims to have been an eye-witness of what took place in his own town of Maidstone.

The volume of Zurich Letters, published by the Parker Society, contains several other accounts, one from a William Peterson, another from one John Finch, a third from Nicholas Partridge;² but all these are at second-hand, for these men only retail to their friends accounts which came to them on the Continent through a certain German merchant, and each would seem to vie with the others in the strength and extravagant bitterness of what may be admitted to be exaggerations. Yet, what more natural than that the very fact and circumstances of their

¹ Burnet gives this letter in its original Latin, and adds what he calls a translation, really a loose paraphrase, of it.—*History of the Reformation* (Collection of Records), Part vi., book iii., p. 180. Appendix G.

² *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society, 1847), pp. 604, 606, 609.

exile, as they believed for the truth's sake, should stimulate their powers of imagination, and move them to pour an additional infusion of gall into their ink?

It will not be out of place to ask here what view the Romanist of to-day takes of the whole proceedings.

He will urge, considering the source from whence they come, that these are only "Protestant inventions, or at best, gross exaggerations"—*lies* he may courteously call them. But how can he reconcile this with the language of Erasmus,¹—no bigotted "Protestant" he, but one who lived and died in communion with the Church of Rome, —when he charges the Monks with "tyrannizing over the consciences of the deluded laity with fopperies, juggleries, and impostures?"² or with the Articles of Enquiry for the Monastery of Walsingham, when one is to the following effect, "What is the greatest miracle and moste undoubted whiche is said to have bene doon by our Ladye here, or by any of the said reliques?" And again, "Whether our Ladye hathe doon so many miracles nowe of late as it was said she did when there was more offering made unto her?"

Now be it admitted that Foxe, and Hoker, and Peterson, and Finch, were extreme and bitter anti-Romanists, revelling, as it would seem, and not unnaturally, in the freshness of their freedom from Romish superstition, and therefore not unlikely to paint in over-glaring colours the exposure of deceptions and illusions of which they may themselves for years have been among the victims.

¹ Erasmus' *Morie Encomium*, Bp. Kennett's Translation, p. 123.

² Harl. MSS., 791, p. 27.

But what has the Romanist himself to say in defence or justification of these practices? The latest champion of the cause is the author of a work entitled "Blunders and Forgeries,"¹ in a chapter which appeared originally in the *Dublin Review*, under the heading "The Rood of Grace, or How a Lie Grows." He does not attempt to deny the existence of such a figure, or that it had such a remarkable mechanism. Nay, he admits that such mechanical figures were not uncommon, illustrating his argument by the jointed figures of the Saviour, which were so constructed to admit of their being wrapped in a shroud on Good Friday, and laid in a Sepulchre, and then robed anew on Easter Morning. But does he not forget the difference between the devotional effect which such a representation, like that of a beautiful stained glass window, might have on a susceptible emotional mind, and the claim which is put forward on behalf of this miracle-working "Rood of Grace," or its more northern rival, "St. Mary of Walsingham."² He candidly avows his opinion, which he says is maintained by "Catholics, or at least by himself," that "the miracles wrought, or supposed to have been wrought, or graces obtained, before this crucifix had nothing whatever to do with the movements" so suggestively made. Surely such a denial, or minimizing, of the claims of relics to thaumatergic power would be a conceding the soundness of one of the main positions taken by the English Reformers, and a virtual stultifying one of the most attractive and effective pretensions of the Church of Rome.

The author of "Blunders and Forgeries," after quibbles

¹ By T. E. Bridgett, F.S.S.R.

² See Harleian MSS., 791, p. 27. *Pilgrimage of Erasmus* (J. G. Nicholls), App., p. 204.

and querks and cavils at the language of Lambarde, who, as we have seen, made his statement on the authority of printed accounts of the Monks themselves—of Burnet, who always gives his authority—of Hume, whose scepticism would keep him clear of hasty judgment—of Froude, and Hook,—seems as if he were acting on the instructions said to have been once given on a Barrister's brief, "No defence. Abuse the Prosecutor's witnesses;" for he summons them one by one before him, placing them—not in the witness-box for cross-examination—but in the pillory, to be pelted with the choicest selection of epithets he can command—there are "the arch-knave Thomas Crumwell," the "perjured Archbishop Cranmer," the "time-serving Hilsey," the "debauched and bloodthirsty Henry," &c. Does he need to be reminded that abuse is not argument, that strength of language and soundness of reasoning often go in inverse ratio the one to the other?

Far more seemly is the language of the charitable and philosophic Hook, who recognises that under the then state of society "the service rendered to the Christian cause by the Monastic institutions was great," but in speaking of their deterioration and downfall, he says: "We live in an age when the spirit-wrapper finds believers among those who think it a mark of superior intelligence to discredit Revelation. It is not, therefore, for us to attempt to distinguish between the wilful deceivers, the self-deceived, and the dupes of a bygone age. We can only say that when there was a demand for the miraculous, the demand was met. So long as it was met, those who were at the head of affairs did not trouble themselves to investigate the means by which the end was obtained. A

wonder-working shrine was a mine of wealth. If money was required to rebuild or restore a sacred edifice, a relic was purchased, or the canonization of a local hero was procured. His shrine was visited by enthusiasts, who felt, or declared, that their bodily infirmities were relieved ; and when this kind of enthusiasm died away, or was confined to a few localities, the iniquitous system of Indulgences was introduced. By offering alms and prayers at a shrine richly endowed with Indulgences the misled people expected a relaxation from the pains of purgatory for themselves, or for their friends. When with the revival of learning a spirit of free enquiry was awakened in Europe, from these superstitions the mind revolted.”¹

To sum up all, can it be denied, or gainsaid, that here a once goodly shrine was prostituted to its own shame, into a scene of flagrant imposture,—call it “pious fraud” if you will!—and into a source of unholy gain?

¹ *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. ii., p. 16, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ABBOTS.

THE Abbey of Boxley, as has been shown in the preceding Chapter,¹ was among the earliest of the religious houses of the Cistercian Order established in England, having been founded in 1146. While the Benedictine Abbey of Christ Church, Canterbury, was of a much earlier date,—so early indeed that no historic record exists of its original foundation, unless we associate it with Augustine himself,—and naturally, from its connection with the Primacy, held a more conspicuous place in the annals of the English Church : yet that of Boxley was not without its history ; and it is in the pages of the early chroniclers of Canterbury, Gervase and Eadmer, that that history may be first traced. For no Abbot of Boxley could be recognised as such until he had received confirmation, or, as it was termed, “benediction,” at the hands of the Primate. This would imply, that not like the majority of English Abbeys, which were “exempt” from Diocesan control, Boxley, by the tenor of its foundation, was under the recognition and jurisdiction of the Primacy. Though it will be seen that subsequently, for instance, when Abp. Warham reported its condition to Wolsey as

¹ Page 29.

Papal Legate,¹ it had come to be regarded as one of the "exempt" Monasteries. It is therefore to the *Actus Pontificum Cantuariensium*, preserved by Gervase in his Chronicles, we are indebted for the names of the first of these Abbots, and from this source we learn that Archbishop Theobald, who held the Primacy from 1139 to 1161, confirmed three Abbots, LAMBERT, THOMAS, and WALTER.² Unfortunately only the Christian names are given, without any distinguishing designation or title, so that their previous or subsequent careers cannot be traced with any certainty, and it is only possible, by reference to dates, to connect any of them with any of those events in which Abbots of Boxley are said to have taken part.

As the Abbey was only founded in 1146, and Gervase gives March 1152-3 as the date of the confirmation of Abbot Thomas, it may be reasonably inferred that Lambert was the first to sit in the abbatial chair, and that it was he who in the year 1151, with his brother Abbot of Faversham, attended Archbishop Theobald when he, under papal compulsion, confirmed Sylvester as Abbot of St. Augustine's Monastery. The story runs thus:

On the vacancy occurring, the monks chose Sylvester, one of their own body; but the Archbishop having received very unfavourable reports of his life, refused to

¹ See page 55.

² Gervase gives the following from the *Actus Pontificum*, "*de Theobaldo*: Abbates istos benedixit Theobaldus, Lambertum scilicet de Boxeleia-Thomam de Boxeleia, Walterum de Boxeleia. "*De Ricardo*, Johannem benedixit Abbatem de Boxeleia." . . . "*De Baldwinno*, Dionysium quoque benedixit Abbatem de Boxeleia." In his *Chronicon* he gives the date of the confirmation of Thomas thus: "A.D. 1152 Hoc anno Theobaldus Cantuariensis, totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, benedixit Thomam Abbatem de Boxeleia ad altare Christi Cantuariæ, vi Non. Martii." Gervase, Rolls Series (Stubbs), vol. ii., pp. 385, 398, 405.

admit him¹ until, on his appealing to Rome, a mandate came from Pope Eugenius III.² to which Theobald was compelled to bow. The ceremonial of the confirmation could not fail to be an imposing one. St. Augustine's was clearly *facile princeps* among the English Abbeys of that day. In addition to the goodly retinue which befitted his own dignity, and that of the Abbot elect, the function required the presence of two other Abbots as attendants on the Primate, for which honour Theobald seems to have selected those of Boxley and Faversham.

Of Lambert's successor, THOMAS, there is apparently nothing on record.

WALTER, whom Gervase places third on the list, would seem to have had a noteworthy career; but before entering upon it, notice should be taken of the list which Somner gives,³ as with him three more intervene between Thomas and Walter. He gives the order thus: Lambert, Thomas, John, William, Dionysius, and then Walter. He does not state from what source he obtained the names, whereas the list given by Gervase is clearly taken from the official records of the See, and he expressly says that John was confirmed by Archbishop Richard (1174-84), and

¹ Bishop Godwin (*De Presulibus*, p. 70) thus describes the controversy: "Silvester quidam, variorum criminum infamia notatus, Monachorum tamen suffragiis cenobii Augustiniani Abbas designatus est. Hunc ille, quod tanto munere indignum judicaret, admittere (aut ut usitato more loquar) *benedicere* renuit. Sed iste, qualitercunque moratus, bene certe nummatus, Pontificem potuit habere patronum; cujus literis iterum internumque perscriptis, interpellatus, vel potius dixerim minis et mandatis coactus, Archiepiscopus Silvestrum tandem (neque enim aliter poterat) voti fecit compotem,"

² Or Adrian III. See Batteley's *Somner's Canterbury*. Part II. App. No. xxxiv., p. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, Part I. App. p. 51.

Dionysius by Baldwin (1185-92). It, therefore, seems quite justifiable to place Walter as the direct successor of Thomas.

In this case he was no insignificant representative of the Abbey of Boxley, for he it must have been on whom devolved the honour of officiating on no less historical an occasion than at the burial of Thomas à Becket. He, with the Prior of Dover, had been summoned to Canterbury by the Archbishop, to consult with him as to the selection of one of the monks to fill the vacant post of Prior,¹ and was there on that memorable Christmastide when Becket fell a victim to the ruthless savagery of the four knights. In the utter consternation and bewilderment of the poor monks, it fell on him to perform the last sad office of consigning hurriedly to its first resting-place in the crypt before the altars of S. John and S. Augustine, the blood-stained corpse of the martyr-Primate, an office which, as the shirt of hair betrayed him to be a Cistercian, was most fitting at the hands of a Cistercian Abbot.²

The next event in English history in which an Abbot of Boxley has a place, is the Synod of Westminster,³ convened in 1175, by Henry II., at the solicitation of Archbishop Richard (Becket's successor), commonly known as Richard of Dover, he having been Prior there.

¹ "Affuit illi obsequio Abbas de Boxeleia et Prior de Dovra, vocati prius ab Archiepiscopo quia eorum consilio Priorem, qui in Cantuariensi non erat ecclesia, unum de Monachis voluit facere." (*Vita S. Thome*, auctore Willelmo filio Stephani, s. 151, quoted by Craigie Robertson, *Materials for the Life of Becket*, (Rolls Series), iii, 148. One old Chronicler after another describes the scene, with slight variation of language. See Appendix H.

² Becket had been admitted to that Order at Pontigny, during his exile, in 1164. Craigie Robertson's *Becket, a Biography*, p. 163.

³ *Gesta Henrici II. & Ricardi I.*, Rolls Edition, i., 85.

At this Synod the King himself was present, and several Canons were promulgated bearing on the celibacy, dress, and general demeanour of the clergy.

Whether it was Abbot Walter or his successor JOHN (whom Archbishop Richard had confirmed), is doubtful, as the date of Walter's death and of Abbot John's confirmation is not recorded, but it is probable that the latter was the one who, about 1180, again in conjunction with him of Faversham, was selected by Pope Alexander III.¹ to arbitrate between Sir Nathaniel de Leveland and the monks of St. Bertin, at St. Omer's, concerning the right to the Leveland Chapel in the alien Priory of Throwley,² which was a cell attached to the Cluniac Abbey of St. Bertin. The decision was given in favour of the monks.

Abbot John was followed by DIONYSIUS, who was confirmed by Archbishop Baldwin 1185. He appears to have been at once³ selected by Pope Urban III. to take part in a commission, with his brother Abbot of Faversham, under the distinguished Prelate, Hugo de Grenoble, Bishop of Lincoln.⁴ The circumstances were these. Baldwin had, within the first year of his attaining to the Primacy, appropriated to his own use the revenues of the two parishes of Eastrye and Monkton, which had been expressly assigned "for the use of the poor." The members of this Commission were specially required to use

¹ *Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Bertin*, vol. i., 412, quoted in *Arch. Cant.*, iv., 215.

² The Church of Throwley had been granted to the Abbey of St. Bertin by William d'Ypres, who had been the original founder of Boxley Abbey.

³ Archbishop Baldwin was only promoted to the Primacy early in the year 1185, and Pope Urban only wore the tiara for a few months in that and the following year.

⁴ He is also variously styled Bishop of Avalon, or Ascalon.

their influence with the Archbishop to restore these funds to their original use ; in which it seems they succeeded.

But the most important controversy in which, during the same Primacy, an Abbot of Boxley was concerned, was when Archbishop Baldwin and the Monks of the Christ Church Monastery had their bitter contest. Here comes an incident of English Church history of no little importance. From the days when Lanfranc carried out his plan of changing the relation between the Primacy and the Christ-Church Monastery, detaching the one from the other, and dividing the hitherto common property, at every vacancy of the See a struggle for the right of electing the successor had arisen between the Monks, (who claimed the right on the ground that they had previously elected him as their Abbot), and the Bishops of the Southern Province (whose claim was based on the fact of his being their Metropolitan). Sometimes this struggle became so intense as to require the intervention of the King, or the Pope, coming down as a *Deus ex machinâ*, and solving the difficulty by appointing a nominee of his own. Now Baldwin had originally been the choice of the Bishops in opposition to the nominee of the Monks ; but on the entreaty of the King they withdrew their claim to elect, and accepted the Episcopal choice. Still they set themselves persistently to thwart him at every turn, and instead of being, as the Chapter was originally destined to be, a council of helpers and advisers, they set themselves to counteract him in every branch of his administration. To escape from their interference Baldwin resolved to establish a Chapter of Seculars at a little distance from the Metropolitan city, and thus be free of them ; but his attempt was frustrated by the intrigues of

the Monks, and neither at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury, nor at Maidstone, nor even at Lambeth,¹ could he fully carry his point ; and he died with his object unattained.

Meanwhile Richard had come to the throne, and found the struggle still going on, or rather renewed by Hubert Walter, who had become Archbishop. A change, too, had taken place in the Abbey of Boxley. ROBERT² had succeeded Dionysius, and he was destined to occupy a conspicuous position in the struggle and in other events which were passing. Richard selected him, in conjunction with the Abbot of Rievaulx, to mediate between the contending parties, and to bring to an end, if possible, a struggle which had now been going on for ten years, by persuading the Convent to give way ; but they defiantly refused to yield.³ Gervase says they remained "more obdurate than adamant, and more stiff than steel." The end was not to be yet. They had sent emissaries to Rome to obtain the Pope's favour ; and the King despatched thither Abbot Robert and the Prior of the daughter house of Robertsbridge, as delegates to plead the cause of the Archbishop.

On this, as on other occasions, the special province of the peaceful and peace-loving Cistercians seems to have been to play the part of mediators, while another reason for their selection in this case probably was that Baldwin

¹ Here he succeeded only so far as to establish an official residence, but not a Chapter.

² Robert is mentioned as being Abbot in 1197 (*Pedes Finium*, xi. ; *Arch. Cant.*, i. 240) ; and again in 1201 (*Ibid.*, lxxv. ; *Arch. Cant.*, ii., 262).

³ "Missi sunt ad Conventum Abbates duo, viz., de Boxeleia et de Ponte-Roberti, ut ipsi aliquid temptarent efficere, verum Conventus, adamante durior et ferro fortior, non adqueverit eis." (Gervase, *Opera Hist.*, i., 560.)

himself had, during the period of his Monastic ardour, been admitted into that Order in the Monastery of Ford.¹

Again, in the year 1200, Abbot Robert was called upon by the Pope, Innocent III., to adjudicate on a question which had arisen in the Northern Province.² The point in dispute was the appointment to the Archdeaconry of Richmond. Geoffrey Plantagenet, the Archbishop of York, an illegitimate son of Henry II., had nominated Honorius, while King Richard had selected for the vacant post Roger de St. Edmund; but the Archbishop refused to institute him. To settle this, Pope Innocent commissioned Gilbert de Granvill, the Bishop of Rochester, with the Abbot of Boxley and the Prior of Leeds, to investigate and decide their respective claims; this they did in favour of Honorius, by a compromise, and Roger de St. Edmund succeeded him two years after.

One more connection between Hubert Walter and Boxley Abbey must not be omitted. The Archbishop, enfeebled as he was by illness and old age, was called on to settle a dispute between the Bishop of Rochester and his Monks, and had selected Boxley Abbey as the place at which he would hold his court; but while he was on his way there from Canterbury, the disease from which he was suffering (*anthrax*, carbuncle) had become so acute, he was obliged to turn aside to his Palace at Tenham, and there he died, a few hours after, in 1190.³

But the event which carries with it the most historic interest in connection with Boxley Abbey has yet to be mentioned. When Richard I., having made his truce with

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, ii., 544.

² Hoveden's *Chronica* (Rolls Series), iv., 184, n.

³ Radulphus de Coggeshall, *Chronica Anglicana* (Rolls Series), p. 156.

Saladin, was hurrying home to counteract the intrigues and treachery of his brother John, in 1193, as he was passing through Austria, he fell into the hands of his bitter enemy, Leopold, who sold him to his scarcely less bitter enemy, the Emperor, by whom he was thrown into prison; but so secret was the place of his confinement it could not be traced, till the Chief Justiciar of England (Walter, Archbishop of Coutance) selected, as specially suited for so delicate a purpose, Abbot Robert of Boxley, and Prior John of Robertsbridge.

The active part thus assigned to them may perhaps be accounted for by the gratitude the Cistercians were known to entertain towards Richard in consequence of his liberality to that Order.¹

While Romance has immortalised the mythical adventure of the minstrel Blondel, and his discovery of the King's prison, history has remained silent, or said but very little, about the bold enterprise of the two Cistercian Monks, who really made the discovery and effected the ransom of their captive King.²

¹ Ricardus Rex Monachis Cisterciensibus ad Capitulum Generale convenientibus singulis annis C. marcas argenti contulit, &c. *Chronica Johannis de Oxenden* (Rolls Series), p. 65.

² "Audita Regis captione, Walterus Rothomagensis Archiepiscopus, et cæteri domini Regis Justiciarii, miserunt Abbatem de Boxeleia et Abbatem de Ponte-Roberti Alemanniam ad quærendum Regem Angliæ qui cum totam Alemanniam peragrassent, et Regem non invenissent, Bavariam ingressi sunt, et obviaverunt Regi in villa quæ dicitur Oxefer, ubi ducebatur ad Imperatorem, habiturus cum eo colloquium in die Palmarum." (Hoveden's *Chronica* (Rolls Series), vol. ii., p. 198.) "Interim prædicti Abbates...quos Justiciarii Angliæ ad quærendum Regem miserant, redierunt in Angliam post Pascha, narrantes pacem factam esse inter Imperatorem et Regem Angliæ, in hunc modum, quod Rex Angliæ dabit Imperatori Romanorum centum millia marcarum argenti de redemptione," etc. (*Ibid.* iii. 205.) Dr. Stubbs suggests that "Oxefer" is probably Ochsenfurt, on the Mayne, near Wurtzburg.

Abbot Robert's eventful and stirring life came to a close in 1214,¹ when he was succeeded by him who had been his companion on many commissions, and in his journey in search for Cœur-de-Leon, JOHN, the Prior of Robertsbridge. Of this Abbot John comparatively little is recorded. An event, however, which occurred in 1232 presents him in a somewhat unfavourable light. Grave complaints had been made to Pope Gregory IX. that great irregularities existed among the Religious Houses of the "exempt" Monks in Kent, and he issued a commission to Abbot John of Boxley and the Abbot of Bekeham (? Bayham) to investigate the charges made against them.² It may have been unfortunate, considering the jealousy which existed between the two great divisions of Monks, the Black and the White, that two of the one class should have been selected to inquire into the doings of the other. The result not unnaturally was that the Visitors acted with what was considered by the victims undue severity (*vehementius*). They complain of being treated very unjustly, especially by the Boxley Abbot, and entreat that other Visitors may be sent.³ This, however, did not lose

¹ "A.D. 1214. Obiit Robertus Abbas de Boxle." *Annales de Waverleia* (*A. Monastici*, Luard). Rolls Series, vol. ii., p. 282.

² *Annales Dunstunliæ* (Rolls Series), p. 133. Matt. Paris, *Historia Major*, iii., 238.

³ "Gregorius Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis de Boxle Cisterciensis, et de Bekeham (? Bayham). Premonstratensis Ordinis, Abbatibus, . . . et Præcatori ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem. . . Intelligimus si quidem quod nonnulla monasteria exempta Cantuariensis Diocesis in spiritualibus deformata et in temporalibus sint graviter diminuta, dum Monachi et Moniales eorum, diabolica suggestione seducti, immemores pacti Domini sui, quo non solum sua sed seipsos professione ordinis abnegarunt. . . non sine furti nota et noxia Monasteriorum bona improprie sibi appropriant et retentant," etc. (Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* Rolls Series, iii., 238.)

"Mandati igitur hujus executores vehementius et secus quam deceret, &c. ; primo, in Abbatiam Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ ingerentes, seque super se incomposite afferentes. præcipue Abbas de Boxle, adeo Monachos perterruerunt, qui Romam profecti consumpto labore, et effusa pecunia, alios visitatores impetrarunt." *Ibid.*, p. 239.

him favour at Court, for in 1222 Henry III. sent him to negotiate a peace with Philip Augustus of France,¹ and some years later he had a still higher honour conferred on him, being chosen by his brother Cistercians to be the second English Abbot of Citreaux itself.²

After this, for nearly 200 years, the succession of Abbots becomes more difficult to trace. The Abbey seemed to be subsiding into comparative insignificance, and its Abbots only at rare intervals appearing on the public scene. Few incidents of note in the lives of any of them were deemed worthy of record. For instance, in the *Kentish Pedes Finium*, the name of one Simon occurs incidentally in 1243; then, five years after, that of an Alexander.³ Gervase mentions a JOHN, as being Abbot in 1289,⁴ and it was probably this Abbot John to whom Edward I. assigned the delicate commission of trying to negotiate with Philip IV. for the restoration of that much disputed and troublesome appanage of the English Crown, Gascony, having signally failed to enforce his claim by arms.⁵ Ten years after, however, his successor, ROBERT, appears among those who were to take part in the solemn obsequies of Philip's Queen, Johanna.⁶

Then in 1356 incidental mention is made of an Abbot JOHN in the *Annals of Melsa*,⁷ and again another of the

¹ Patent Rolls, 7 Henry III., m. 7 d.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 168.

³ *Pedes Finium*, in Codex de Kent (Maidstone Museum).

⁴ Gervase, *Gesta Regum*, i., 291.

⁵ Patent Rolls, 22 Edward I., m. 7 d, and Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i., "De facto Vasconiz fraudulenter obtentæ a Rege Franciæ et nequiter detentæ."

⁶ Close Rolls, 33 Edward I., m. 16 d. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i., p. 971.

⁷ *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Rolls Series).

same name in 1395.¹ In Archbishop Chicheley's Register at Lambeth² appears the name of RICHARD SHEPPEY as Abbot in 1415. Then comes a long interval, in which only the name of another Abbot John occurs, in 1443, in connection with the apostate Monk William Pounds.³

However, towards the close of the fifteenth century light breaks in from another source. Among the municipal records of Maidstone are preserved the accounts of the long extinct "Fraternity of Corpus Christi," in which, on the lists of those who had been contributors to the funds of this institution are the names of two Boxley Abbots—JOHN WORMSELL, from 1474 to 1481, and from the following year to 1490 that of THOMAS ESSEX.⁴

This brings us again into touch with the political life of the country. In 1489 Henry VII. had demanded a clerical subsidy, and the Archbishop of Canterbury certified the Treasury and Barons of the Exchequer that he had appointed the Abbot and Convent of Boxley to collect all the dues within his diocese and jurisdiction,⁵ a mark, no doubt, of confidence and favour.

But Thomas' successor, JOHN, had apparently allowed the collection of the subsidy and the Abbey's own quota to fall into arrears. To escape from the trouble and the debt, he got himself transferred from the Abbey to the Vicarage! The Lambeth Register tells us that in the year 1524 Abbot John was appointed to be Vicar of Boxley; on the presentation, too, of a layman, one

¹ Harleian MSS., 55 B. Addl. MSS., 1648.

² Abp. Chicheley's Register, i., f. 9, b.

³ *Litteræ Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series), iii., 175. See above, p. 45.

⁴ This distinctive name we gather from the *Pedes Finium*, and also from Harleian MSS., co 16.

⁵ *Materials illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*, ii., 426.

Thomas Penglose.¹ The change seems a strange one; a Cistercian Monk into a parish Priest, and that in the same parish; yet an insight into the surrounding circumstances will help to supply motives for such a step.

Two years before the Abbey had been charged with the sum of £50 as its share towards a further subsidy (or loan as it was called) which the King demanded towards defraying the expences of an invasion of France which Henry threatened; and the money was not forthcoming.² Again, in the same year, the presumptuous act of (Sir) Adam Bradshawe (who was supposed to have been himself connected with the Abbey),³ was perpetrated, being no less than the tearing down from the Abbey Chapel door a document emanating from the Pope himself, and bearing the seal of the Archbishop, in which certain doctrines that were promulgated by Martin Luther had been denounced. For this act Adam Bradshawe had been imprisoned; but that failed to purge his crime, or to wipe out the suspicion and odium which attached to the Abbey. Indeed the Abbey seemed altogether in a bad way; and the poor Abbot may only have exemplified the proverbial rat by swimming away from the sinking ship. Whatever his motives, he left the Abbey for the Vicarage.

¹ Quarto die mensis Julii Anno Domini predicto apud Lamhith Dominus admisit Dominum Johannem, Monachum Abbatem Monasterii de Boxley, cum quo ad infrascripta per sedem apostolicam sufficienter et legitime extitit dispensatum, ad Vicariam perpetuam Ecclesie Parochialis de Boxley sue Cantuariensis Diocesis, per liberam Resignacionem Magistri Thome Peerson, Clerici, ultimi incumbentis ibidem, &c., vacantem: ad quam per discretum virum Magistrum Jacobum Penglase (or Penglose) Arcium Magistrum ipsius Vicarie hac vice patronum, &c., &c., extitit presentatus. Archbishop Warham's *Register*, f. 395. How the Presentation now fell into lay hands it seems difficult to explain.

² *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII.* (Brewer), vol. iii., Part ii., p. 1047.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., Part i., p. 541. See a full account at page 54.

His successor Abbot was also a JOHN.¹ His name was Dobbess or Dobbs, as it is variously spelt. This worthy was evidently in high favour with his neighbour laymen, for the stream of pious benefactions were still flowing in to the enrichment of the Abbey, though already doomed; for even in 1530 grants of land were being made to it.² He was destined, however, to be the "last of his race," and, as it were, its scapegoat. They who had gone before had been sowing to the wind; it was for him to reap the whirlwind. It still is incredible that he, as Abbot, should have been, as he represented to the Commissioners, utterly ignorant of the trickeries of the "Rood of Grace."

Some high in power pleaded for him. Warham, in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, says, "The Abbot, as far as I can perceive and learn, is utterly disposed to live hardly and precisely (strictly and honestly) to bring the place out of debt."³ Then Robert Southwell, the King's Commissioner, while pointing out the grievous neglect and waste that had marked the administration of the Abbey, by which a rental that once produced 700 marcs, now barely reached 400, thinks "there hath grown no decay by this Prior," but the blame lay with his predecessors.⁴ Yet on him was to

¹ Harleian MSS., R. 3. His name also appears on the list of those summoned to Convocation in the year 1529. (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., p. 2701.)

² For instance, "Johannes Fysshier, de Maidstan, in Comitatu Cantie, generosus, Petrus Goldesmythe, de Parochia S'ti Andree Apostoli infra limites Monasterii Beate Marie de Boxele, in Com. predic', et Ricardus Austyn, at Astell, de parochia de Boxele, yeoman," gave and conceded to Abbot John 6 messuages, 7 *Gardina*, 48 acres, and 1 virgate . . . lying on the north of the main road, for the Abbot and Convent to hold in perpetuity. "Datum vicesimo quarto die Sept. anno regni dom. Henrici octavi, Dei gratia, &c., &c., vicesimo primo." (Harleian Roll, R. 3.)

³ *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (Record Office), vol: ii., Part ii. No. 1353. *Arch. Cant.*, iii., 150. Appendix I.

⁴ *Suppression of Monasteries* (Camden Society), p. 172. See above page 62.

fall the doom which they who had gone before had the rather merited.

Simple-minded as John Dobbs may have been, or represented himself as being,¹ he was clearly far-seeing enough to mark the set of the tide, and to make timely provision against it. To him "Surrender with a good grace," and a probable "Pension," were preferable to resistance and "a short shrift." So, to escape such a fate as befell the recalcitrant Abbots John Whiting, of Glastonbury, Hugh Farrington, of Reading, and John Beche, of Colchester, and to secure by surrender the compensation of retirement with a pension, as had been granted to Robert Pentecost, of Abingdon, and others, he did not wait to be summoned, but offered to surrender; and so retiring with the honours of war, obtained a goodly pension of £50 a year for himself, and smaller ones for each of the Monks. Thomas Goldwell, the last of the Priors of Canterbury, fared even better; he received a pension of £80 a year, and having "conformed," was offered a Prebendary Stall. This, however, he declined, and lived in retirement,² while Walter Philips, his neighbour Prior of Rochester, a few years after, glided from the extinct Priory into the newly formed Deanery, which he enjoyed for thirty years.³

With John Dobbs and his Pension ends the tale of the Abbots of Boxley.

¹ He declared to the Commissioners, when they came to take over possession, that he was as much surprised as they at the mechanism of the Rood. See page 60.

² Batterley's *Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury*, Part iii., p. 116.

³ Le Neve's *Fasti*, page 252.

CHAPTER V.

THE CLERGY.

BOXLEY was at first a Rectory; and not until the latter part of the 14th Century was the Vicarial office introduced in its place, the Rectorial endowments being absorbed into the revenues of the Priory of St. Andrew, at Rochester, to whom Henry I., on the occasion of a visit to that city, had granted the Advowson.¹ To the pious liberality of the "Scholar King," as exhibited in this and many similar instances, may doubtless be traced the terms of praise in which contemporary monastic writers speak of him as being "the most noble King."

The patronage of Boxley Church, with two or three exceptions, remained with the Rochester Priory, and has continued with the Dean and Chapter ever since the Reformation. The first interruption in the line of patronage occurred in the troubled reign of Stephen, when "Robert

¹ Carta Henrici I. Super advocacione ecclesie de Boxle, &c. "Henricus Rex Anglorum Anfrido Vicecomiti et omnibus baronibus Francigenis et Anglis de Chent. salutem. Sciatis me dedisse ecclesie Sancti Andree de Rovecestra in dedicatione ipsius ecclesie, ubi presens affui, ecclesiam de Boxle, et quicquid ad eam pertinet in terris, et in decimis, et in oblacionibus, cum omnibus consuetudinibus, et libertatibus, et rectitudinibus, sicut unquam habuit capellanus meus Galfridus et Ansfridus clericus ante illum."—Cott. MSS., A.X. 9. *Registrum Roffense*, p. 177.

the Archdeacon"¹ seems to have claimed it for himself, until Ascellinus, the then Bishop of Rochester, obtained a mandate from Pope Celestinus II. denouncing the claim as "contrary to justice and canonical authority," and calling on the Archdeacon to restore it to the Priory. Then, twice in the reign of Henry VIII. the presentation to the Vicarage, according to the Lambeth Registers, passed through the hands of laymen.

Of the Rectorial period traces may still be discovered in the names of fields which formerly belonged to the "Parsonage"² as it was then called, the Rector then being the only "persona" of the Parish. One other more substantial evidence still stands in the form of a very capacious barn, sometimes called a Refectory, now turned into two cottages, and recently purchased by the present Vicar from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and attached to the Vicarial property.

Of the earlier Rectors, most of whom were foreigners—for here, as elsewhere, he who claimed to be successor of St. Peter was in the habit of provisioning his hungry sheep of Rome on the more fertile pastures of the English Church³—the first name that can be traced is that of

¹ Cotton. MSS. Domitian, A.X. 9., quoted in *Registrum Roff.*, p. 40. Who this Archdeacon Robert could be does not seem very clear, for neither at Rochester or Canterbury was there an Archdeacon of that name, according to Le Neve.

² A "Terrier" of these lands is preserved in the Diocesan Registry at Canterbury. See Appendix K.

³ The Popes not only claimed for themselves the right of nominating to any vacant benefices in England, but on the pretext of guarding against the possibility of any parish being left without a Pastor, went so far as to anticipate any vacancy in a valuable living, by *providing*, as they termed it, for such vacancy by assigning it to some hanger-on, these appointments being called *provisiones*.

ANSFRIDUS, of whom nothing seems to be on record. After him came GALFRIDUS, a Chaplain of Henry I., who was holding the Rectory when the King granted the advowson to the Priory of St. Andrew, at Rochester.¹ Nothing certain is known of his future, but it is not unreasonable to conjecture that this Royal favourite was in time raised to the Episcopal Bench, and was the Galfridus Rufus whom Henry made his High Chancellor in 1107, and Bishop of Durham in 1129.²

Now follows a blank of a century and more, during which no name occurs of a Rector of Boxley among the Monastic writers. In the "Annals of Edmund de Haddenham," himself a Monk of the Rochester Priory, is an entry of the presentation in the year 1240 of GREGORIUS DE ROMANIO to the Rectory, but evidently it was disputed, for with the consent of the Legate (Cardinal Ottoboni), it was referred to the Chancellor of St. Paul's (Henry de Cornhull), who decided in his favour.³ Of his previous or after life it seems impossible to glean any particulars.

The Registers at Lambeth now come to our aid.⁴ In 1283 one Alliotti, of whom, too, nothing is known, save

¹ See foot note on page 83.

² Godwin's *De Præsulibus*, p. 734. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 357.

³ "Anno MCCXL. Data est sententia a Domino Cancellario S. Pauli, London, per consensum Domini Legati, pro Domino Gregorio de Romanio præsentato a Priore et Conventu Roffæ ad Ecclesiam de Boxle, xv. Martii, et sic præsentatus obtinuit ecclesiam illam." Edmund de Hadenham's *Annales Eccl. Roff. Anglia Sacra*, i., 349. *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series), p. 243.

⁴ All the Registers prior to Peckham's time are lost. His predecessor in the See, Abp. Kilwardy, on being made a Cardinal, retired to Rome, and carried off with him all the Registers and much of the plate from Lambeth; and all efforts to recover them have been in vain.

that he was a Canon of SS. John and Paul, of Rome, and was instituted by Abp. Peckham.¹

After him we welcome an Englishman, and judging by his name, a member of an old Kentish family, Thomas de Cobeham.² The only clue to his connection with Boxley occurs in an entry in the Archbishop Reynold's Register,³ at Lambeth, where he is mentioned as being Rector of Boxley, and being party to a claim made on the Abbey for Tithes withheld from him. This was in 1303, when his career was already giving promise of distinction. In 1299 he had received from Edward I. a Prebendary Stall at Hereford, two years after the Archdeaconry of Lewes, and at the time must have held the sinecure Rectory of Hollingbourne, as well as the Rectory of Boxley, and was promoted in 1311 to the Sub-deanery of Salisbury, and subsequently to a Prebendary Stall at St. Paul's, and to the Precentorship of York, and eventually to the Bishopric of Worcester.⁴ But a still higher honour was before him, that of being elected by the Canterbury Chapter for the Primacy. Though of this honour he was deprived by the intriguing intervention of the King, Edward II., who obtained that office for Walter Reynolds, of whom Hook says that "Of all the Primates who have occupied the See of Canterbury, few have been less qualified to discharge the duties than Walter Reynolds."⁵ Still an honour of which neither King nor Pope could deprive him was one which was accorded to him by the general voice of the

¹ Abp. Peckham's *Register*, f. 20, b.

² *Ibid.*, f. 36, b.

³ Abp. Reynold's *Register*.

⁴ *Anglia Sacra*, i., p. 532.; Godwin, *De Presulibus*, p. 46; Le Neve's *Fæsti*, p. 296; Newcourt's *Repertorius*.

⁵ *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. iii, p. 455.

people, that he was commonly known as "The Good Parson."¹

The next name in the succession of Rectors, and the one with which it would seem to have closed, is that of JOHANNES BORBACH, who was presented in 1350.²

With the year 1387 commences the new arrangement of the VICARS; for in that year ADAM SMITH, Capellanus, was admitted to the Perpetual Vicarage of Boxley (*de novo creatam et ordinatam*), on the presentation, not of the Convent, but of the Bishop of Rochester. The change was effected under the brief Primacy of Simon de Sudbury, the victim of Wat Tyler's insurrection. The step was quite in accordance with this Archbishop's rule, for the Lambeth Registers constantly show his determination, if possible, to enforce the residence of Clergy. The primary object of the change, no doubt, was to secure a resident Priest, whereas the Rector's duties were probably generally performed by some deputy, in the absence of the Rector, whose multifarious duties would compel him to be an absentee. It would seem, however, that this object was imperfectly realised by the first Vicar, for Abp. Courtenay, in 1383, within two years of his coming to the Primacy, found it necessary to sequester the Living on account of the Vicar's non-residence. About this period the name of ROBERT MARRE occurs in a dispute between the Rochester and the Boxley authorities, where he is described as

¹ "Vir tanta eruditionis fama, tam egregia insuper vitæ sanctimonia, illustris, ut vix alio quam *Boni* seu *Probi Clerici* titulo innotesceret, et ad summam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ dignitatem omnium votis jampridem designaretur." (*Historia de Episcopis Wigornensibus.*) *Anglia Sacra*, i., 532.

² Islip's *Register*, f. 203. This is recorded as being the joint presentation of the Bishop and the Prior and Chapter of Rochester.

"persona de Boxle," but nothing more seems to be recorded or known about him.¹

A vacancy in the Vicarage again occurring in 1390,² the Bishop of Rochester appointed NICHOLAUS JULIAN, and on his *dimissio*, in 1406, the Prior and Chapter presented PETER BEECH (or BECK, or BEUK, as it is variously spelt). After an incumbency of above 40 years he died in 1449, and was succeeded by GULIELMUS SNELL. The inscription on his tombstone tells that he was of All Souls' College, Oxford, and that he died in 1451, two years after his appointment.³

The next name that occurs is that of JOHN MUNDEN, who is incidentally mentioned in the Records of the "Fraternity of Corpus Christi"⁴ at Maidstone, but of him nothing seems to be known save that he was Vicar of Boxley about the year 1479, and died in 1489, when the Prior and Convent presented one of their Chaplains, JOHN FLETCHER, to the vacant Vicarage. He appears as a witness to the Will of one James Neale⁵ in 1501. After him came CHRYSOTOPHER DANYELL, whose name also is found as witness to one Will and executor under another⁶ in the

¹ Robertus Marre, persona Ecclesie de Boxle.—Cott. MSS. *Faustina*, G v., f. 22, b. *Registrum Roffense*, p. 181.

² Abp. Courtenay's *Register*, f. 39.

³ A coloured print, preserved in the Clement T. Smythe's Collection in the Maidstone Museum, shows that the now lost brass, which was then in the Chancel, but has since been removed into the middle of the Nave, of which only the incised stone and the inscription now remains, did exist a hundred years ago. The inscription may be still deciphered; it runs thus: "Decimo die Marci anno Gracie MCCCCLI., Magister Gullielmus Snell, quondam de Collegio Animarum, Oxon, istius (*sic.*) ecclesie Vicarius, ecclesiasticæ traditur sepulture, Cujus anima in pace requiescat."

⁴ Maidstone Municipal Records.

⁵ James Neale's Will, Canterbury Consistory Court, vii., 18.

⁶ Will of Thomas Boor, *Ibid.* vii., 9. Will of Johanna Busshe, *Ibid.* v., 59, b. Occasionally a personal bequest is made to a man's "Confessor," or

beginning of the Century. On his death, in 1514, THOMAS PERESON, or PEARSON, was inducted by Abp. Warham,² and died in 1528, when, as already noticed,³ he was succeeded by Abbot JOHN, from the neighbouring Abbey, who held the Vicarage till he was promoted to the Abbey of Citeaux. He was probably followed by ROBERT JONSON, whose name is given in "Valor Ecclesiasticus" as being Vicar in 1538. Then follow two names, for which we are indebted to the Canterbury Records: JOHN PUYZANT, and RICHARD ADAMSON,⁴ of whom, as to the circumstances of their appointments, nothing is said, save that the one succeeded the other in 1554. That date points out to a time of trouble and confusion between Cranmer's deposition and Pole's appointment.

Next comes ROGER JONES, of whose appointment there seems to be no record; and yet doctrinal changes were taking place in his incumbency, (for his was that troubled period of transition during the reign of Philip and Mary,) of which some very interesting signs may be detected in the Wills of that period, in which his name appears as witness, and apparently often as draughtsman also; Margerie Brampton,⁵ in 1557, commends her

to the Vicar of the Parish: among these is one of a singular character, made by Richard Seebyrde, in 1477, "I will that the Vycar have *iiid.* when that he come home to my place and feche me to Chirche of Boxle." Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, *iii.*, 8.

¹ Abp. Warham's *Register*, f. 354, b.

² See page 79.

³ "A.D. 1554. Dominus admisit Ricardum Adamson, Presbiterum ad Vicariam perpetuam ecclesie parochialis de Boxley . . . per resignationem Johannis Puyzant, ultimi incumbentis ejusdem, vacantem, ad quam per Robertum Ballarde et Annam ejus uxorem, nuper relictam Henrici Cooke defuncti, dicte Vicarie veros et indubitatos patronos (ut dicitur) presentatus extitit."—Canterbury Chapter Records, N. f. 79.

⁴ Margerie Brampton's Will, Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, *xxx.*, 7.

soul "to the Holye Trinitie," breaking away from the old recognised form of commending it to "Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and all Saints." While in the same year Stephen Mason,¹ while making the stereotyped bequest of "Conscience money" to the High Altar for tithes neglected or intentionally withheld, commends his to Almighty God "my Savyour and Redeemer, trusting to be saved by the shedding of hys precieuse bloud and passyon, and to our blessed lady the Vyrbyn, and all the holy Companie of heaven." Then in 1556, Richard Brice, and in 1562, William Dobbes² commend their souls to "Almighty God the onlye Redeemer." In each of these Wills Roger Jones (or Johns, as sometimes spelt) is a witness, and in that of Stephen Mason, he receives a legacy for the relief of the poor."

The year 1566 saw the appointment of PHILIP HILLES, Roger Jones's successor. It was made, not by the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, but by a Layman, as the Lambeth Register³ says, one John Wolton, of Smerden. But who he was, or how the patronage came to him, does not appear.

On Hilles's death, in 1589, there comes on the scene one who has left his mark on Boxley in a manner and to an extent none of those who had gone before him had done. It is no injustice to his predecessors to assign the post of honour among the Vicars of Boxley to GEORGE CASE,⁴ who with great modesty records his

¹ Mason's Will, Consist. Court, Canterbury, xxviii., 53, &c. Page 7, Appendix B.

² Brice's Will, Archd. Court, xxx., 7. Dobbes' Will, Cons. Court, xxx., 7.

³ Abp. Parker's *Register*, August 25, 1566. This is probably a mistake for Wotton, of Smarden.

⁴ Abp. Whitgift's *Register*. Part I., f. 484, b.

entry on the duties of the parish in succession to Hilles as being "*multum inutilis Christi servus*." The very surroundings—the *genius loci*—could hardly fail to affect a man of so classical a turn of mind, and so poetic a temperament. Coming into the Parish in the year 1589, he would find still fresh the traditions of the Poet of Allington Castle and Boxley Abbey, Sir Thomas Wiat, the elder, (as he was always called for distinction), who Anthony a' Wood says was "the delight of the Muses and Mankind," Case would move amid scenes associated with the frequent visits of Wiat's friend and companion, the still greater Poet, the chivalrous Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; again he would feel himself in close touch with the spirit of Sir Thomas Wiat the Younger, the martyr to his devotion to the injunction of his old master, Henry VIII., in resisting the alliance of Mary with Philip of Spain. Yet again he would revel in the personal friendship of George Sandys, a kinsman of the Wiats, who died at Boxley, and whom, in recording his funeral, Case calls "the greatest Poet of the age." What wonder then, if, like the floating microbes of infection, the spirit of poesy should have travelled from the Abbey to the Vicarage, and finding there congenial soil, should on every death connected with the house of Wiat have developed into a poetic offering to the memory of a lost parishioner and friend at the expence of pages of the Parish Register.

Yet these very Parish Registers not only bear witness to his zeal in those outbursts of poetic fire, but also to his industry, in a far more practical and substantial form, for it appears that to his pen Boxley is indebted for the earliest of these Church Records of the Parish. In its opening page we learn that it was he who rescued from

oblivion, perhaps from destruction, all the previous entries, comprising a period of above 30 years, which were no doubt scribbled down on loose sheets of paper, but which he collected and with his own hand transcribed into this more permanent volume, the leading entries of which will be given in a subsequent Chapter.

On Case's death, in 1632,¹ he was succeeded in the Vicarage by a member of the Wiat family. Sir Thomas the Younger, who had been beheaded by Queen Mary, had married a daughter of Sir William Haut (or Hawte), of Bourn, and his son George, to whom Elizabeth restored a portion of the confiscated Boxley inheritance, had a son, to whom he gave his maternal name of Hawte² and in due time obtained for him from the Dean and Chapter of Rochester the Vicarage of Boxley.³ Hawte Wiat, however, only held it for a few years, dying in 1638.

After him come in rapid succession two Vicars of the name of Balcanqual. Of the former, JOHN BALCANQUAL, there seems to be but little on record. Anthony a' Wood only says that he was a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford,

¹ His son, Thomas Case, is sometimes mentioned as having been Vicar, or Curate to his father; but this seems to be an error. Neither in poetic fire or in orthodoxy did he inherit his father's gifts, though a man of undoubted talent. He was appointed one of the "Assembly of Divines," and held a Cure in the Diocese of Norwich, from which he was forced by Bishop Wren, and became Minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, but was driven out of it for refusing "the engagement." He then became Lecturer at Aldermanbury, and St. Giles, Cripplegate, and eventually Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. In 1660 he was one of those who waited on the King, at the Hague, with congratulations, and the following year was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference. He died in 1682. Calamy describes him as being "of quick and warm spirit, a hearty Lover of God, goodness, and good men." Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, p. 191. Neale's *Puritans*, ii., 732.

² In the "Register" the name is frequently spelt "Hault."

³ Abp. Whitgift's *Register*. Part II., f. 198, b.

and also held the Rectory of Tattenhill,¹ in Staffordshire. He only held this living for two years, when (in 1640) WALTER BALCANQUAL was presented to it. Of him some particulars may be gleaned. The son of a Presbyterian Minister, who was a bitter opponent of Episcopacy, he became a staunch Royalist, and rose in high favour with Charles I. A Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1611, he was in 1617 made a King's Chaplain, and soon after appointed Master of the Savoy. In the following year he was sent to the Synod of Dort to represent the Church of Scotland. In 1624 he was appointed Dean of Rochester, and in 1639 transferred to that of Durham.² On vacating the Mastership of Savoy, he was succeeded there for a short time by that convicted impostor and Popish spy, Antonio de Domini, Archbishop of Spalatro. From Boxley and the Deanery of Durham the too loyal Balcanqual was expelled in 1644, when he found refuge in Chirke Castle, in Denbighshire,³ the house of Sir Thomas Middleton, where he died in the following year; and a Monument in the Church marks his burial place, while an inscription from a pen no less honourable and illustrious than that of Bishop Pearson⁴ testifies to his worth as having "adorned all the offices he held by his conspicuous virtues."⁵

¹ John Balcanqual had a dispensation in 1633 to hold the Rectory of Tattenhill, in Staffordshire, with the Vicarage of Boxley. *State Papers* (Domestic Series), 1637, viii., p. 188.

² *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii. 180. *Fasti*, i. 383. Melville's *Memoirs*. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

³ At one time a pronounced Parliamentary, he lived (to use the words of Clarendon) "to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth" by becoming a staunch Royalist. *History of the Rebellion*, Bk. 8 (1644).

⁴ The Author of the *Exposition of the Creed*.

⁵ "Omnia hæc officia, sive dignitates, magnis virtutibus ornavit."

Into his place was intruded, in 1644, THOMAS HEYNES (or HAYMES), a creature of the Puritan party,¹ who must have so far managed to adapt himself to the shifting winds of religious opinion during the next twenty years that he "conformed," and so remain undisturbed in his Vicarage at Boxley; for it was not till his death, in 1678, that HUMPHREY LYNDE was appointed to succeed him. The preceding year Lynde had been placed by Abp. Juxon in the Curacy of All Saints', Maidstone, and retained both Cures till his death in 1690. It is generally supposed that he was the son of the Humphrey Lynde whose Treatise against Rome had been condemned by Archbishop Laud's Chaplain, and who afterwards, and perhaps in consequence, became a most bitter Puritan pamphleteer.² The son furnished an instance of the tolerant and conciliatory spirit of Abp. Sancroft, who repaid the father's hatred of Episcopacy by recognising the worth of his son, and showing him marked favour.³ A still more marked instance

¹ At the end of the Church Register occurs the following entry, referring to this period, and bearing date 1646: "The second Sabb' in March, after three years preparation (by ye preaching of ye glorious gospel of Jesus Christ), we whose names are here under written, entered into Church fellowship under ye ministry of Tho' Haymes, set (apart by) God, and sent by ye State of ye Kingdom to ye same work :

The Lady Mary Wiat, vid. (widow of Sir Francis),
 Hen. Barrow et uxor ejus,
 Steven Geery et uxor ejus,
 Tho'. Tollhurst, et ejus uxor,
 Tho'. Allen Cal,
 Edward Couchman,
 Jerimiah Harpe et ejus uxor,
 Margret Cultup,
 Caterina Woollet, virgo,
 George Charlton,
 Steven Leigle."

² *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii., 601. Prynne's *Canterburie's Doome*, p. 185.

³ Abp. Sancroft's *Register*, f. 376.

of that tolerant and conciliatory spirit which existed in the Church after the Restoration was evinced in the appointment to the Archbishopric of Glasgow of Robert Leighton, the son of the noted Puritan, Alexander Leighton, for whose rabid work against Prelacy, "Zion's Plea," the Star Chamber had condemned him to have his ears cut off.

On Lynde's death the Dean and Chapter of Rochester gave the Vicarage to one of their Prebendaries, JOHN WYVELL,¹ who had been a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. He also held the Rectory of Frindsbury, to which he had been presented by the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Spratt). He died in 1704, and the vacancy was filled up by one of those Chapter arrangements which were not uncommon in those days.

The Archdeaconry of Rochester was in the gift of the Bishop, and had fallen vacant in that year, and being in the Bishop's gift, had been conferred on his son, THOMAS, who had only taken his degree at Christ Church, Oxford, three years before. Being now Archdeacon, he, as one of the Rochester Chapter, elected, and was presented to, the valuable Living of Boxley, which the death of Wyvell had vacated.² As Archdeacon and Canon, residence at Boxley was of course impossible, so Dr. Spratt appointed a Curate in the person of John Gyles, B.D., a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. But he clearly recognized the claims of the Vicarage, though not occupying it, for he obtained permission³ to pull down the old house and built the present one. He also, as he has placed on record in the Parish Register, made substantial addition to the Vicarage

¹ Abp. Tillotson's *Register*, 51.

² Abp. Tenison's *Register*, i., f. 220.

³ Abp. Tenison's *Register*, ii., 289.

grounds and presented to the Church the large gilt Cup for the Holy Communion.¹

On his death, in 1720, he was succeeded by EDMUND BARRELL,² of Brazenose College, Oxford, one of whose first acts as Vicar was to alter an arrangement forced on the Parish by his predecessor in the last year of his life, by which he raised the scale of tithes on hops from 10s. an acre to 18s. This Mr. Barrell reduced to 10s. 6d. To him, too, the Parish is largely indebted for important additions to the Parish Notes in the small MS. Vol. from which much of this information is derived.

He seems, however, to have resided very little in the Vicarage, for his name does not occur among the "Domestic Events," or in the Registers during the 45 years of his incumbency.

He was succeeded in 1765 by a far more distinguished man—Dr. WILLIAM MARKHAM, but with him and his immediate successors the non-resident Vicar is the rule rather than the exception, the penalty the Parish paid for having the honour of Royal nominees for the Vicarage.

Dr. William Markham was from the commencement of his University career a man singled out for high preferment. From Westminster he had gone up as a King's Scholar to Christ Church, where he rose to be eventually Dean, having meanwhile been Head Master of his old School, in 1753; then Prebendary of Durham in 1759; Dean of Rochester in 1765, and, like his predecessor, Archdeacon Spratt, in the same year he became Vicar of Boxley. He was appointed Chaplain to George II. and

¹ This cup has long since disappeared, and is supposed to have been given in exchange for the existing Cup, Flagon and Patin, which, according to the Hall Marks, are of the year 1788, '89.—*Archæologia Cantiana*, xvii., 299.

² Abp. Wake's *Register*, i., f. 313. b.

III., and Bishop of Chester in 1771, and the year after was selected as Preceptor to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, and in 1776 was raised to the Archbishopric of York. All this while Boxley saw but little, if anything, of him, though he retained the Vicarage *in commendam* till he was made Archbishop. He died in 1807, at the advanced age of 89.¹

On his resigning Boxley the right of presentation lay again with the Crown, and the Honble. BROWLOW NORTH, the younger son of the Earl of Guildford, and brother of Lord North, the Prime Minister, was selected for the Vicarage. He had been of Trinity College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1762, was elected Fellow of All Souls' four years after, and in 1770 was appointed to a Canonry at Christ Church. The same year he was made Dean of Canterbury, and the next year, being only just 30 years old, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; then, in 1774, Bishop of Worcester, and of Winchester in 1784. He retained the Boxley Vicarage, and also the still more valuable Rectory of Lydd, in Romney Marsh, *in commendam*, till he became Bishop of Worcester.² His resignation, in 1774, again threw the next presentation of Boxley into the hands of the Crown.

To fill the vacancy thus created, WILLIAM NANCE, of Peter House, Cambridge, was appointed. With him there seems to have been a break in the line of absentee Vicars for a few years. In 1780 he effected an exchange with Dr. JOHN BENSON, who was Rector of Great Chart and Harbledown, and also Prebendary of Canterbury. He died in 1804, and was succeeded by Dr. SAMUEL GOODENOUGH.

¹ Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, vii., 36.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 668.

Before entering on the succession of Vicars of the 19th Century, it may be well to notice how the ministrations of the Parish were carried on during the Pluralist non-resident period we have been traversing. From the Lambeth Registers and those of the Parish we are able to give the names of the Curates in the following order :— Henry Burvill, probably a member of the family of that name then living at the Boxley House, was Curate from 1705 to 1709 ; he was followed by John Gyles, B.D., a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, from 1709 to 1726 ; after him, for a few months only, by Thomas Eades, LL.B., of St. Edmund's Hall, and then for some two years, by John Marriott, of St. John's College, Cambridge ; by Peter Alston, of New College, Oxford, from 1730 to 1735 ; by Christopher Thomas, from 1741 to 1756 ; and George Burville from 1757 to 1775.

In 1781 Robert Parsons was appointed Curate, and remained till 1787 ; then John Lloyd till 1802 ; John Say, and then Henry Morgan Say, of St. Mary Hall, till 1805, and Joseph Sharpe till 1809, when he exchanged for that of Detling, of which Parish he became Vicar in 1822.

To return to the Vicars, the 19th Century found Dr. BENSON at the Vicarage, but on his death in 1804, he was succeeded by Dr. SAMUEL GOODENOUGH, a distinguished Student of Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his Degree in 1764, and D.C.L. in 1772. He was promoted to the Deanery of Rochester in 1802, and two years after was presented by the Chapter to the Vicarage of Boxley, which he only held for four years, being appointed to the Bishopric of Carlisle in 1808.¹

The presentation to the Vicarage, thus vacated, again

¹ Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, vol. ix., p. 759.

falling to the Crown, Dr. RICHARD COCKBURN was then appointed. Of him little is known save that he was a Canon of Winchester, and also befriended the living of Boxley by the addition of a considerable piece of Augmentation land. He held the Vicarage till his death in 1832, when he was succeeded by Dr. JOHN GRIFFITH. He had been a Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and came under the favourable notice of Lord Lyndhurst, who made him one of his Chaplains; in 1827 he obtained for him a Canonry at Rochester. In 1831 he was presented to the Chapter living of Aylesford, and the following year vacated that for the Vicarage of Boxley, which he held till 1853. After leaving Boxley, his interest and that of Mrs. Griffith would seem to have specially centered in the Parish of Strood, adjoining Rochester, where, mainly through their munificence, the new Church dedicated to St. Mary, was erected. It was consecrated in 1869.

On his resignation of Boxley, in 1853, the Rev. FREDERICK JONATHAN RICHARDS, the present Vicar, was appointed.

The large increase in the size of the Parish during the present Century rendered the help of Curates, even under resident Vicars, an absolute necessity. Without giving the names of the many who have been thus connected with the Parish, one demands special notice. Under Dr. Griffith for several years the Curacy was held by one who rose to eminence in the Ecclesiastical word: JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, who was for many years a Canon of Canterbury, and also filled the distinguished post of Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London. He is still more widely remembered as the author of a very able and valuable "History of the English Church."

From the list of the Vicars we pass on, as a matter of course, to the sources of the income. It has been said that it was originally a Rectory,¹ and subsequently a Vicarage. Each had its separate endowment of land. The Terriers of both the Rectorial (or Parsonage) lands and those of the Vicarage are still preserved in the Diocesan Registry at Canterbury,² and in many instances the names by which they were described three hundred years ago are still attached to several of the plots.

From the Church Register, and a Church Memorandum Book, we learn some interesting facts; for instance, that flax³ was one of the products of the Parish, and was titheable, and also that one farm on the hillside (the Warren) was charged with a specified number of rabbits to be supplied yearly, or their equivalent.⁴

To the Vicarage is also attached a Pension of £8 a year. The actual assignment of it is obscure, but its existence is recognized in Pope Boniface's "Taxatio" of 1299,⁵ and it would seem to have been a perpetual charge on the Abbey, for when a lease of Rectorial land was granted to the Abbey in 1513, an express stipulation was made that the rent of such land was to be quite independent of this

¹ See page 83.

² They will be found in Appendix J.

³ In 1703 there were 20 acres of flax grown in the Parish.

⁴ In the small Volume of Parish Memoranda already mentioned is an entry as follows, respecting Tithes paid by Robert Week, of Boxley Warren, in 1721: "More, 12 young well-grown rabbits, 8 in Summer and 4 at Christmas;" and so in subsequent years, the entry varying, "all had in kind," or "had, or allowed for."

⁵ Taxatio, &c., &c., "de Boxele, xxxii., li.; *preter portionem Vicarii ejusdem Ecclesie, viz.: viii. li.*"

Pension.¹ Nor did it cease with the Dissolution of the Abbey, but was transferred as a charge on the Exchequer, from whence it was long paid to successive Vicars, and is now received through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.²

In Boxley, as in other Parishes where Cistercian Monasteries existed, it was enacted at an early date that all lands under culture by the Monks themselves, or at their expense, should be *tithe-free*.

But such was not always the case here. There clearly was a time when this Abbey was as liable to the payment of tithes as other lands. *Ecclesia non solvit ecclesiæ*, "the Church does not pay to the Church," is undoubtedly a very ancient maxim in English law; yet the claim of the Religious Houses to be independent of the Church, and only amenable to Rome, would seem to have removed them from its general application; and they paid, until some special enactment gave them exemption. Such exemption can be traced in the case of Boxley.

Early in the 12th Century Pope Pascal II. issued an Edict that all Religious Houses should be free of tithes, but Adrian IV. restricted this privilege to the Templars, Hospitalers and Cistercians; probably, in this exemption,

¹ *Firma Rectoriæ de Boxley sic dimissa Abbati de Boxley, ut ille Abbas debet solvere ex suis propriis denariis, ultra dictam firmam quolibet anno Vicario Ecclesiæ ibidem, viii., li. (Dated 1513.)*

² In the MSS. Book at the Vicarage, already referred to, is an amusing entry made by Mr. Wyvell, the Vicar in 1703, respecting this Pension: "There is Belonging to The Vicaridge of Boxly one Pencion of £8, payd yearly at Michaelmas, out of the Exchequer; if the Minister goes himeselfe he pays 8s. to the Receiver, 4s. to the Auditour, and so receives clear £7 8s., but Mr. Line (? Lynde), my Immediate Predecessour, not goeing up himeselfe, Imployed one Mr. Morgan, near the West end of Westminster, who generally solicited that being well for him, & he received the 8s., soe he Received but clear £7." So it appears did Mr. Wyvell's successor, Archdeacon Spratt: but Mr. Barrell, who followed him, appends a note: "I, E. B., received the Pension myeself."

adapting himself to the Crusading ardour of the times in the first two, and recognising the value of the agricultural labours of the third. However, in the Lateran Council (1215) this exemption was restricted to such lands as the Monks "were holding in their own hands." But the Cistercians made a vigorous effort to have this restriction cancelled, and would seem to have assumed that it would be, and that they might so act on it, for a complaint had been made by the Parochial Clergy of Boxley that the Abbey withheld and refused to pay them tithes. In consequence, Pope Alexander III., in a letter¹ addressed to Thomas à Becket, insists on the duty of the Monastery to pay tithes in full for all lands in their hands.

This, however, was soon changed when Innocent III. came to the Papacy. In his desire to fortify these outposts of the ecclesiastical army of Rome, this ambitious and haughty "Servant of servants of God," as he styled himself, to secure the more willing allegiance of the English Monasteries in his struggle with the Crown, relieved all Cistercian Abbeys of the obligation to pay Tithes. Honorius III., the successor of Innocent, confirmed this privilege, and Richard of Wendover, at the time Bishop of Rochester, by express mandate, applied this privilege to Boxley.² It remained unquestioned from that time (1222) till the Dissolution of the Monasteries, when Henry VIII., in the grants of the various Manors to his courtiers, continued the same exemption, that so long as they held the lands "in their own hands" they should

¹ The letter is undated, but must have been written between 1160, when Alexander became Pope, and 1170, when Becket was murdered.—See Appendix K.

² See Appendix L.

“enjoy them discharged and acquitted of payment of Tithes as freely and in as large and ample a manner as the former Abbots, &c., ever held them.” This privilege, under the same conditions, holds good to this day at Boxley.

From the list of the Vicars and the sources of the Vicarial income, the transition to the Vicarage house is natural. Here the value of a Parish Register appears in a new light. It is not only the Chronicle of “Domestic Events” of a Parish, but often contains on its fly-pages chance notes and Memoranda of considerable interest, inserted by successive Vicars in days when elaborate “Minutes of Vestries” were not yet known. Thus have been often rescued from oblivion particular details of the past history of a Parish which would otherwise have been inevitably lost. Such is happily the case here.

By the help of such Memoranda we can trace the various changes which have passed over the VICARAGE HOUSE, illustrating, as they do, in a most interesting manner the changes which have come over the domestic and social life of the Clergy. Here we have some idea of what the original building was,—when it was pulled down and a new one, the nucleus of the present one, erected,—and then the several stages of its growth into its modernized form.

It has been already said that it ceased to be a Rectory about the year 1377, and was then constituted a Vicarage. But there was clearly no house for the Vicar till 1394, nearly 20 years after, when the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew’s, Rochester, as the patrons of the living, built one, which we are told consisted of “a Hall, Chamber,

Cellar, Kitchen, and Stable," with a small garden-plot. It was, however, stipulated that the future repairs of this humble domicile should be borne by successive Vicars.¹

Whatever the changes were made during the next three centuries do not seem to be recorded. When, however, Mr. Wyvill came to the Vicarage, in 1690, he has entered a note that he found the house consisting of "a good parlour, and a place to set the strong beer in, one kitchen and another little room for small beer, a closet, a very good wash-house, and brewhouse; above stairs one good lodging room, with two little rooms within, one great room and closet, and another large room,"—by no means excessive accommodation for a married man, with, as the Register discloses, a rapidly increasing family.

When Archdeacon Spratt succeeded Mr. Wyvill, in 1705, he, though apparently non-resident, recognised the duty of providing for the comforts of his Curate, and in 1710 "pulled down all the old buildings, which he rebuilt of brick, with two wings," and what with "wainscoting, painting, marble inside," and ornamental work too, outside, introducing into the grounds "canals, cascades, and basin," on land which he had himself added to the garden, he claims the credit of having expended out of his own pocket not less than £1,500.

Still his successor found something left for him to do, for he added "a wash-house and barn." Then came Dr. Markham, in 1765, and he built "the Hall and the rooms over, and made the bow-window to the Great Parlour." The next Vicar, Mr. Nance, "built the brewhouse, the Coal place and small Cellar, and put up the marble Chimney

¹ Cott. MSS. *Faustina*, C. 5, f. 90.

Pieces in the Great Parlour, and the Drawing-room," at a cost of £500.

So the Vicarage would seem to have remained during the incumbencies of the next two, also non-resident, Vicars, Benson and Goodenough, from 1789 to 1808.

When Dr. Cockburn came into residence he at once added "bay-windows to the Dining-room and Drawing-room over it," besides making considerable additions to the Glebe. After him Dr. Griffith pulled down the old stables and built new ones, and also the Coach-house, on land he purchased of Sir William Geary, who then owned the adjoining estate, called "Court Lodge," now added by Major Best to the Park House property.

To his successor, the Rev. Frederick Jonathan Richards, the present Vicar, the Vicarage is indebted for still further improvements in the house itself, besides an important addition of land. By throwing together two small rooms on the ground floor he has made a bright cheery drawing-room, and purchased from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners an adjoining piece of land, formerly belonging to the Rectory, with a building traditionally called the Refectory, but more probably the old Tithe-barn; and adjoining it, the Farm-house of the Rectorial lands, now converted into two comfortable cottages.

Thus has grown by degrees, out of the humble two-roomed domicile of the medieval celibate priest, the commonious dwelling-house of the modern family-man Vicar, the type of an English home, the centre of the energizing activity of an English Parish.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH.

THE absence of all mention of a Church at Boxley in "Domesday" does not necessarily imply that none then existed, for, as de Gray Birch¹ says, this book "is not a Survey of the condition or statistics of Church property or edifices, but only of those places to which the Crown had to look for a payment of some kind, either in services, rents, or produce, therefore those Churches only find a place which incidentally fall into this category."² Boxley clearly did not, and therefore only that which belonged to or affected the Manor was recorded; and the Church, which was evidently at that time in the hands of the Crown, was passed over in silence, as being distinct from the Manor, which was in those of Odo.

Its value, as given in "Domesday," *i.e.* £55, is presumptive evidence that one so important must have contained a

¹ "Domesday Book," p. 255.

² Matthew Paris (Watts), p. 10, thus explains the object and system of this unique record; "Rex Willielmus misit justitios per omnes Angliæ Comitatus, et inquirere fecit quot agri vel jugera terræ uni aratro sufficienter per annum in singulis villis, et quot animalia possent sufficere ad unius hydæ culturam. Fecit etiam inquire quem censum urbes, castella, villæ, vici, flumina, paludes, sylvæ, redderent per annum, et quot milites essent, in unicoque Comitatu regni. Quæ omnia in scriptum redacta, et ad Westmonasterium delata, in thesauris Regum usque hodie reservantur."

Church in the days of the Conqueror. Of any such building as may have then existed not a vestige now remains. Nor can any part of the present fabric claim to date back within 150 years of that time.

The first mention of a Church here occurs in the Grant of the Tithes made to it by Henry I.¹

Could we carry back our minds even to the days of the Plantagenets, the Church that would present itself to our imagination would be in its internal arrangements very different from that we now have to describe. Its highly picturesque situation was probably always the same; for ground once consecrated to religious use, whether by Saxon or Norman, was in those days very rarely, and only then for some good and weighty reason, deprived of its sacred character and use. Here no such reason was likely to have arisen, and therefore the site has doubtless remained the same.

But it is within, that the change has taken place. And by the aid of the Wills of devout and liberal parishioners of the 15th and 16th Centuries we are able, to some extent, to revive the scene. Their legacies, deluded and misguided as we now regard them, give us glimpses of the leading features of the building, and show how, in accordance with the superstition of the times, they sought to add to the embellishment of the Church they loved so dearly.²

¹ Nobilissimus Rex Henricus Primus multa bona contulit, scilicet ecclesias de Boxele, &c.,” *E. Registro Temp. Episcop. Roffensium*, quoted in Thorpe’s *Registrum Roffensi*, p. 2.

² The Will of “Johanna Bushe, widow of Johannes Bushe, of Boxley” (Consistory Court, Canterbury, v., 59, b.), dated 1499, may be taken as a typical one: “In primis do et lego animam meam Deo Omnipotenti, S’te Marie, et omnibus sanctis celi; corpusque meum sepeliendum in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis omnium S’torum de Boxle, Item lego summo altari ibidem

At the East end then would have stood the High Altar, always the first to be remembered in each Will with the stereotyped form 'of "Conscience Money," for Tithes neglected or wilfully withheld. The next to be honoured would be the "Summa Crux," the Rood over the Chancel Screen, for which lights were always bequeathed; then lights for the "Image of the Virgin Mary," probably in her own Chapel,¹ now forming the East end of the South Aisle, where the *piscina* is still visible in the South wall; lights also for the "Images" of St. James, St. Laurence, and St. Christopher;² then towards the later part of the 15th Century other claimants for illumination appeared. In 1474 and 1480 lights were bequeathed to the "Vision of Pope Gregory,"³ and in 1489 to the "Image of the Passion."⁴ But where these several objects had their places it is now impossible to conjecture; nor is it possible to say whose Chapel occupied the East end of the North Aisle, where is also a *piscina* now let into the East wall.

It is however with the present Church that we are concerned, and with the building as it now appears, for High Altar, Rood-screen, side Altars, and Images have happily disappeared, to give place to a more simple style of adornment, better suited to the simpler and less sensuous—the

pro decimis et oblacionibus negligenter oblitis et subtractis XII. d. Item lego lumen beate Marie Virgini. . . . Item lumen S'to. Cruci ibidem, Item lego lumen S'to Jacobo ibidem. . . . Item S'to Johanni Baptiste ibidem. Item S'to Laurencio, &c.

¹ The Chapel of St. Mary is expressly mentioned by John Beche (1462), Archd. Court, Cant., i., 5., by John Clynton (1473), *Ibid.*, ii., 13, by Robert Burbage (1479). *Ibid.*, iii., 15.

² "A light to St. Christopher," by Thomas Doore (1464), Archd. Court, i., 8.

³ "Visioni S'ti Gregorii," bequeathed by Robert Jay (1474), Archdeac. Court, Cant., ii., 14, by Joanna Baker (1480). *Ibid.*, iii., 21.

⁴ "Passionis Imagini," bequeathed by Thomas Boor (1489). *Ibid.*, vii., 9.

more real and devout—form of worship of the English Liturgy.

On entering the Church by the West door, and passing through a singular porch or chamber outside the Tower (of which fuller notice will be given presently) the eye is greeted by a spacious, light, well-proportioned building, of the early part of the 13th Century. The pillars of the Nave are of the graceful Early-English character, constituting the oldest portion of the Church,¹ while the windows of the West end, and those of the South Aisle, would seem to have been insertions of a hundred years later, those of the North Aisle belonging rather to the middle of the 15th Century, at which period the battlemented parapets of both Aisles must have been added, while the gables of both Nave and Aisles clearly date from the early part of the preceding Century.

The only relics of the past are the two *piscinæ* already mentioned, and the *lychnoscope*, the aperture cut through the South pier of the Chancel arch, to allow the attendant to see if the lights on the High Altar were burning; but even this has under modern "restorations" been partially closed up, to complete the round of the pillar! There is also a very early narrow doorway in the eastern end of the North wall, which must have led by a spiral stair to the Rood-loft, spanning that Aisle: and a plain capacious *stoup* for holy water on the right hand inside the South door.

Of the Tower, so conspicuous an object in the landscape,

¹ In the course of a "Restoration" some years since, the foundations of an outer wall were found in the line of these pillars, showing that an earlier Church existed here, and that it comprised what now forms the Nave.—*Notes about Boxley.*

its battlemented parapet, like that of the Aisles, indicates 15th Century work, but a careful examination of the lower stage reveals marks of being at least a hundred years older. The entrance doorway on the West, now somewhat blocked up by a heavy bulkhead, as a barrier against the draught, is a striking specimen of decorated work, with its graceful mouldings and carved corbel ends—the heads of a King and a Bishop. The Crown of four large and four small strawberry leaves, as represented in the effigy of Edward II. at Gloucester, seems to suggest the possibility of this ornament having been introduced to commemorate the visit of that Monarch to Boxley in 1321,¹ the corresponding figure being that of the Bishop of Rochester of that day (Haimo de Hitha, or de Heath), who was, conjointly with the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew's, the Patron of the Boxley Vicarage. This would tally with the probable date of this lower portion of the Tower. The door itself, too, is a fine piece of early wood-work, and has been well preserved.²

But what constitutes perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Church is the Western Porch, sometimes erroneously called the "Galilee" Chamber, through which ingress is gained to the Western door. Its object and use have long perplexed Antiquaries. It was evidently an adjunct to the Church of much later date than the Tower itself, probably added on for some secular parochial purpose—a room, it may be, for parish meetings or guilds.³

¹ See page 43.

² For the architectural details of the building the Author is mainly indebted to his friend, G. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A.

³ An interesting Paper entitled "Church Ales," by E. Peacock, F.S.A., in the *Archæological Journal* for 1883 (vol. xl.), contains an account of Church Houses, as buildings for Parochial uses.

On walking up the Church-yard from the Lytch-gate, the eye at once detects that neither door, nor window above, in this Porch, is in the centre of the gable; nor is the gable itself true to the lines of the Nave. The chamber has been evidently enlarged on the South side, the wall having been built some three feet outside its original line, and then carried inwards at an oblique angle to adjust it to the buttress on the South-west corner of the Tower. A small doorway and a few stone steps of a spiral stair in the North wall would perhaps suggest that there may have been an upper room. There are traces also of windows, now blocked up, in the two side walls. This building has long been regarded as distinct from, and independent of the Church, and is claimed as a mortuary Chapel belonging to Vinter's estate, and as such the vault beneath it has been used for burials by the Whatman family.

The connection of this Porch with Vinter's is thus explained in an Inscription on a large slate tablet fixed on the South wall :

"This part of Boxley Church appears to have been built, and from time to time repaired and freely used by the owners of Vinter's, in this parish, viz. :

"Roger Vinter, Cons(ervator) Pacis, 1343, who founded and endowed with the estates of Gould's and Shepway Court¹ the Chantry, afterwards called Gould's Chantry, Maidstone.

"John Vinter, 1380.

"Sir John de Fremyngham, 1409.

"Sir Roger Isley, 1411.

"Sir Henry Isley, who forfeited his estates for High

¹ Shepway Court was not included in the grant.

Treason and was executed after Sir Thomas Wyatt's Rebellion.

"Sir Cavaliero Maycott, al's Mackworth, 1580.

"William Covert, Esq., 1610, who married Lady Barbara Cutts, and rebuilt a part of Vinters in 1582.

"Sir William Tufton, Bart., 1626.

"Sir Charles Tufton, Bart., 1660.

"Daniel Whyte, Esq., 1689.

"Sir Samuel Ongley, 1711. Mr. Champnies, of Boxley, was his tenant.

"James Whatman, Esq., by Act of Parliament in 1783. He was Sheriff of Kent in 1767, and used this vault in 1789 for the burial of Edward Stanley, Esq., D.C.L., Comm(issione)r of the Customs in London.

"In 1836 his son, with the Vicar of Boxley, had the opinion of Counsel on the free use of it, and the ancient Inscriptions to its earlier possessors having been effaced from it, this stone is intended to preserve its history. 1848."¹

Mention must now be made of the WINDOWS.

The three-light East window, dedicated to the memory of Colonel James Best, represents, in the centre the Crucifixion, on one side the Baptism of Our Lord in the River Jordan, and on the other the two Maries and the Angel at the sepulchre.

The two-light window on the North side of the Chancel represents "the Holy Family" in the stable, and the presentation of the child Jesus in the Temple, with this Inscription: "In Memoriam, Gulielmi Parry Richards, M.A. Nat. 1789; mort. 1860. Viri boni, patris optimi,

¹ See pages 4 and 5.

hoc monumentum Filius amans posuit." While that in the opposite window contains in its two lights Our Lord showing himself to Mary, and to Thomas, with a similar Inscription, with only the addition of the fact that his son Frederick J. Richards was at the time the Vicar of the Parish.

In the second two-light window on the North side of the Chancel are represented the Annunciation, and the Salutation of Elizabeth, with the following Inscription: "In Memoriam Franciscæ Elizæ, nat. 1789; mort. 1851, Gulielmi Parry Richards Uxoris dilectissimæ Hoc Monumentum Filia amans Posuit."

In the small single-light window on the South side of the Chancel, dedicated to the Praise and Glory of God, in memory of Tatton Brockman, M.A., of Beachborough, Clerk in Holy Orders, born Dec. 7, 1792, died June 25, 1869, is a representation of the Ascension.

In the Vestry, behind the organ, is a small two-light window with the figures of S. Gabriel and S. Michael, symbolizing Peace and War, presented by Major Mawdistly G. Best, on his safe return from the Crimean and Indian-Mutiny Campaigns; with the inscription on a small brass plate, "In Memoriam, Cawnpore, Lucknow, 1857-8, M. G. Best, 34th Regt."

At the East end of the North Aisle is one "To the Memory of Madeline Frances, the beloved wife of Richard Mercer, Esq., "who departed into everlasting life 30th January, 1862." It represents the Transfiguration scene, in the centre light Our Lord in a *Vesica Piscis*, radiant with glory, on either side Moses and Elijah emblemized, the one by the two tables, the other by a raven.

In the North Aisle is a representation of Our Lord raising the daughter of Jairus, with the following Inscription : "To the Glory of God, and in memory of her beloved Mother, Dame Anna Brockman, born October 1, 1817, died May 14th, 1881 : and of her two sisters, Louisa Tatton Brockman, born Jan. 24, 1842, died June 17, 1850 ; and Maria Knatchbull-Hugessen, born June 27, 1846, died Holy Innocents' Day, 1881. This window is dedicated by Katherine A. Best."

The East window of the South Aisle is to the memory of several members of the Lushington family, in which the Scene in the Garden of Gethsemane is represented, the Saviour in agony, with S. Peter at his feet asleep, while on his right appears Judas acting as the guide to the soldiers, and on his left the other two disciples lying wrapt in slumber.

In the South Aisle is a representation, running across the two lights, of the Marriage Feast in Cana of Galilee, "To the Glory of God and in memory of Dora Georgina, wife of Frederick J. Richards, Vicar of the Parish, born May 27, 1827, passed into rest June 3, 1880."

In the West window in the North Aisle appear in the two lights, the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, and the Healing of the impotent man at the Pool of Bethesda. "*Ad majorem Dei gloriam et in memoriam Johannis Griffith, S.T.P., nati MDCCLXXXIX., denati MDCCCLXXIX. Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Roffensis Canonici, atque per tres et viginti annos hujusce Ecclesiæ Vicarii, hoc monumentum tres amici posuerunt ; Frederico J. Richards, Vicario.*"

In the Western entrance Porch is a small two-light window containing the appropriate figures of S. Michael

and S. George, thus dedicated: "To the Glory of God, and in loving memory of Charles Cornwallis Ross, Lieutenant, King's Royal Rifles, born 30 August, 1861. His short Military career was chiefly spent in active service in the Soudan. He died at Ramleh, from fever contracted at Suakim, 7th June, 1884, aged 22."

Among the ornaments of the Church should be specially noticed the Reredos of alabaster, running across the East end, with a colonade of Cornish marble shafts supporting richly cusped canopies, recessed in Derbyshire marble. It is relieved by bands of very choice Cornish marble mosaic.

In MONUMENTS Boxley is not so rich as some of its neighbour Churches. Indeed, with two exceptions, to be specially noticed, those that remain are of comparatively recent date, and of simple design. It would appear that there was a time when it possessed many of a richer character, but these have somehow disappeared.

The earliest record of a burial here is that of Hugo de Mortimer,¹ Archdeacon of Canterbury, in the year 1275, though no monument, or even local tradition of the event remains. Yet must it have been a memorable event, for it was no less a dignitary than the Prior of St. Augustine's, who had come to perform the last sad offices over the corpse of his neighbour dignitary of Canterbury.

The earliest brass remaining in the Church is that now lying in the middle Aisle, but originally in its proper place, the Chancel. It represents a Priest robed, and the inscription at the foot, also happily preserved, tells its

¹ Eodem anno (1275) vii., Idus Octobris, obiit Magister Hugo de Mortuomari, Archidiaconus de Cantuaria, apud Meidestane, et sepultus est apud Boxele a Priore Cantuariensi. Gervase, *Gesta Regum*, (Stubbs), ii., 281.

tale. It once no doubt marked the actual burial place, and still commemorates the name of, a Boxley Vicar, named William Snell,¹ who died in the middle of the 15th Century. It runs thus: "Decimo die Marci, Anno Gratiae MCCCCLI., Magister Willielmus Snell, quondam de Collegio Animarum (Omnium) Oxon, istius Ecclesiæ Vicarius, ecclesiastice tradit' sepulturæ. Cujus anima in pace requiescat."

The next, indeed the only other left, is that of a Soldier, which has somehow found its way into the Chancel. The stone in which it is inserted originally contained the figure of his spouse also, and their coats of arms; but his effigy, and the inscription at the foot, is all that remains. Here we have, on a small scale, a fine representation of an Esquire in the plated armour in fashion during the Tudor period; his hands are raised in prayer; a long sword hangs at his left side, and a dagger at his right; his head is bare, and rests on a richly worked saddle; his hair and beard cut short, the ruff, or frill of the period falling over the stiff collar. The figure itself is in good preservation, and also the inscription, save only the surname, which is almost undecypherable, and only by the aid of the Church Register is it possible to identify the subject.

The Inscription runs thus:

"Richard Tomyow,² Esquier, who maryed Mary, one

¹ See page 88.

² The indistinct lettering of the Surname has proved an enigma to more than one. In a very interesting little work, "Notes about Boxley," already referred to, it is suggested that the name was "Tomlyn," while Barry Charles Roberts, in a book under the same title, considers it may have been "Cimyow," or that the final letters are certainly "ow." The Church Register solves the doubt, but raises an almost greater difficulty, for there the entry is distinctly "*Richardus Tomyow, Armiger, sepultus xii. Junii.*" but it seems well nigh impossible to connect the bearer of such a name with

of the daughters of Sir Matthew Browne, of Bechworth Castle, in the County of Surrey, Knight, deceased the xii. of June, 1576."

On a separate brass are the following verses :

"Whoe under stone of marble here doth rest,
By derest friends remembered as you see,
Suche wysdome sure did lodge within his brest,
And suche contempt of worldly things had he,
As made him passe with gaine of worthy praise
The gayest course of those his aged days.

"A man indued with vertues of the minde,
Esteeming much the meyne and gayest state,
Well learned he was, to every good inclinde
With pacience great, colde broke eche other fate,
To Prynce and Pere most true in service still,
At eightie years on him God did his will."

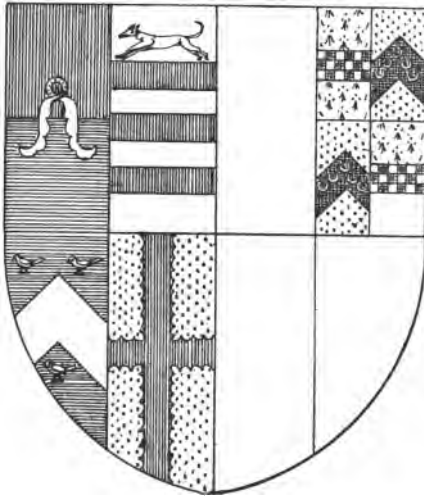
The most imposing of the mural monuments is that to the Wiat family. It is between the windows on the North wall of the Chancel, and has the following Inscription :—

"Edwin Wiatt, Serjeant-at-law, son and heire male of Sir Francis Wiat of Boxley Abbey, and Margaret, his wife, was at one time justice of the peace of this county, recorder of Canterbury, and recorder and burgess in parliament for the corporation of Maidstone; one of the council of the court before the president and council in the marches of Wales, and chiefe justice of the grand sessions for the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan. He married Frances second daughter and coheire of Thomas Crispe, of Quex in Thanet, Esq., by whom he had Thomas and other sons,

the family of Sir Matthew Browne, of Bechworth Castle, whose daughter he is said to have married. In the College of Arms the name of Mary does not appear as a daughter of Sir Matthew, but only that of Margaret, and she is represented as having married one Sir Richard Tanne. Thus is confusion worse confounded.

and Margaretta and other daughters, buried in this chancell, and hath Edwin, Francis, and Richard, living; and erected this monument, 1702. To the memory of Sir Henry Wiat, of Alington Castle, knight banneret, descended of that ancient family, who was imprisoned and tortured in the Tower, in the reign of king Richard the third, kept in the dungeon, where fed and preserved by a cat. He married Ann, daughter of Thomas Skinner Esq. of Surry, was of the privy council to king Henry the Seventh and king Henry the Eighth, and left one son, Sir Thomas Wiat of Alington Castle, who was esquire of the body to king Henry the Eighth, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Brooke lord Cobham, and well known for learning and embassys in the reign of that king. Sir Thomas Wiat of Alington Castle, his only son, married Jane youngest daughter of Sir William Hawt, of this county, and was beheaded in the reign of Queen Mary, leaving George Wiat, his only son who lived to age, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Finch of Eastwell and Katherine his wife, restored in blood by act of parliament of the 13th of queen Elizabeth, and leaving only two daughters, Anna, who married Roger Twisden of Royden Hall esq. and Jane, who married Thomas Scot esq. George Wiat was succeeded by his eldest son Sir Francis Wiat, twice governor of Virginia, and married Margaret daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys of Ombersley in Worcestershire. George Wiat left also Hawt Wiat, who died vicar of this parish, and hath issue liveing in Virginia; and left also Elionora, married to Sir John Finch, baron of Forditch. Sir Francis Wiat by his wife Margaret, had





The WIAT QUARTERINGS, as given on the Monument.

issue the said Edwin Wiat, and also Elizabeth, who married Thomas Bosville of Little Mote, Einsford, esq. and by him hath Margaretta his only daughter and heire, who is married to Sir Robert Marsham of the Mote in Maidstone, knight and barronet."

On this monument are the following arms :

1. Parti per fesse, *azure* and *gules*, a barnacle *argent* (Wyat).
2. *Argent*, three bars *gules*, and in chief a greyhound courant *sable* (Skipwith).
3. Blank.
4. *Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, five horse-shoes *or* (Crispe).
5. *Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, between three hearts (garbs?) *gules*, as many mullets *or*.
6. *Or*, a cross engrailed *gules* (Hawte).
7. } Blank.
8. }

In the Chancel, almost buried under the Choir Seats, are two massive stones, one on the North side, on which the Arms only of Wiat are visible, and on the other the Crest of Grimestone, projecting beyond the seat. These are evidently the Monuments mentioned by Thorpe in *Registrum Roffense*, page 789, as follows :—

"M. S.

"Of Edwin WIAT Esq. son of Edwin Wiat, Sergeant at law : he maryed Elizabeth Hales, second daughter, and one of the coheirs of Edward Hales of Chilton in this County, Esq. and Elizabeth his wife. He departed this life, June 4, 1707."

The shield was thus given :

"Parti per fesse *gules* and *azure*, a barnacle *argent*, for Wiat : impaling, *Gules*, three arrows *or*, for Hales."

"Hic jacet Henricus Grimestone, Miles, Edwardi Grimestone Armigeri filius natu (aliter nemini) secundus, propter pietatem erga Deum, charitatem erga proximum, pacificus vixit, pace quiescit, moriens dixit "Resurgam." Obiit 22 Septembris, 1745. Ætatis suæ 64."

On the monument is the family shield :

"*Argent*, on a fesse sable, three mullets of six points *or*, pierced *gules*." The crest, "A stag's head, ringed, *argent*."

There was also a series of tombstones of the Mitchell family,¹ belonging to the latter part of the 17th Century, outside the Communion Rails, with the following Inscriptions (but they have now disappeared) :

"Here lieth the body of Mistress Jane Mitchell, the wife of Captain Stephen Mitchell. She departed this life the seventh of February, being forty one years, leaving behind her three sons and two daughters, in the year 1669."

"Here lieth the body of Captain Stephen Mitchell, husband of Jane Mitchell, of the Parish of Boxley. He departed this life the 14th day of August, being aged forty eight years, and in the year of Our Lord 1667."

"Here lieth the body of Stephen Mitchell, the son of Capt. Stephen Mitchell, late of Boxley. He departed this life the iii. of September, 1678."

On the stone for Captain Stephen Mitchell was a shield, bearing "A cross (? a fesse) between three birds' heads impaling a greyhound courant."

¹ Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, p. 790.

The Champneys family, for many years living at Vinter's, are also represented here in a series of monumental tablets in the North Aisle.

"In Memory of

"JUSTINIAN CHAMPNEYS, of Gray's Inn, Barrister, only son of the Rev. John Champneys, Clerk, Rector of Tigswell in the County of Hertford, by Martha daughter of Sir Alexander Cave Kt. He was born in 1637 and died unmarried in 1712."

"SARAH, daughter and co-heiress of Andrew Hughes, of Ringledon, in the Parish of Woodnesborough, by Sarah daughter of Gratian Lynch Esq. of Groves in the Parish of Staples, and wife of Justinian Champneys Esq. of Ostenhanger in this County. She was born in 1679, married in 1694, and died in 1728, leaving issue Justinian, William, Henry, and Sarah, the wife of the Rev. Stringer Belcher, Clerk, Rector of Ulcomb."

"JUSTINIAN CHAMPNEYS Esq. of Ostenhanger, only son of Richard Champneys, Gent. of Biddenden, born in 1669, and died in 1754. He was one of the five gentlemen stiled the "Kentish Petitioners," of whom we have an account in the History of this County."

"JUSTINIAN CHAMPNEYS, son of the last mentioned Justinian, born in 1695; died in 1758, not leaving any issue, and is buried at Aquelia in Piedmont."

"Henry Champneys Esq., of Vinter's in this parish, born in 1700, died unmarried in 1781: in compliance with whose desire this monument is erected to the memory of his father and mother, and others of his family buried in this Church."

"Near this place is deposited
 all that could return to earth
 of Hannah, wife of William
 Champneys,
 of Vinter's in this Parish, Esq.
 and daughter of John Trigge
 of Newnham in the Co. of
 Gloucester, Esq.
 And that the memory of so able a
 person
 may not be buried with her ashes,
 Let Truth record,
 Let Justice acknowledge,
 that her form was a mirrour to her
 mind,
 reflecting those excellencies,
 which all applaud, few possess,
 Sense with Innocence,
 Mildness with Dignity,
 Chearfulness with Modesty,
 Piety without Affectation,
 and every Virtue joyned with every
 Grace,
 that could give lustre to the
 character
 of a Neighbour, Friend, and Wife
 Mother, Christian.

That Heaven may bless
 two infant daughters she has left
 with like endowments
 is the prayer of the surviving
 parent ;
 and that there may be many such
 should be the prayer of all
 who are friends to Virtue,
 Lovers of their Country,
 and well wishers to human kind.
 One only son, Sackville, she left,
 who followed her too soon.
 She died on the 17th day of April,
 Aged forty three years,
 He died on the seventeenth of
 May, aged six years.

MDCCXLVIII."

" Sacred to the Memory
 of Frances, eldest daughter and coheirress
 of William Champneys, late of Vinters in this parish, Esq.
 Such was the piety of her mind, the goodness of her heart,
 and the benevolence of her disposition
 that her life proved a blessing,
 her death a heavy affliction
 to her family.
 She died the 28th day of February 1800,
 in the 58th year of her age."

“Near this place lieth the body of Ann,
the wife of Samnel Athawes, Senicr, of this Parish,
who departed this life the 31st day of May, 1753,
Aged 54 years.

Left issue 5 sons and 3 daughters.”

“Here also lieth the body of Mr. Samuel Athawes, who
succeeding his father in the Parsonage Farm
of this Parish,
occupied the same forty eight years, with uprightness and
moderation,
that no dispute or contention arose in his time,
and the Tithes were as willingly paid by the Parishioners
as received by himself.¹

He lived respected by his friends for his integrity and
generosity,
and beloved by the Poor for his Benevolence and
Compassion,
and died lamented by all,
the 16th day of December, 1757, aged 83 years,
Leaving a numerous issue.”

“Likewise William, the son of the said
Samuel and Ann Athawes,
died December 20th 1763, aged 54 years.”

“In remembrance of so worthy and exemplary a character,
his grandson, Samuel Athawes,
son and successor of Edward Athawes,
a Virginian Merchant of London,
has caused this tablet to be fixed
this year of Our Lord 1799.”

¹ He leased the Rectorial Tithes.

“In Memory of the Rev. George Burvill,
of Boxley, in the County of Kent,
who died April 17, 1798, aged 73,
Whose remains are interred near this place.”

“Also the remains of Juliana Burvill, his wife,
who died July 2nd, 1777, aged 59 years.”

“Also of John Burvill, their son,
a Major in the 66th Regiment of Foot,
who died at Port au Prince, in St. Domingo,
March 16, 1796, aged 38 years.”

“Also in a vault beneath this tablet are interred
the remains of Peter Rashleigh,
who died August 25, 1807, aged 20,
the 2nd son of the Rev. Peter Rashleigh,
of Southfleet, in the County of Kent,
and Frances his wife, daughter of
the Rev. George Burvill and Juliana his wife;
also of Henry Rashleigh their 3rd son,
who died in Calcutta, in the East Indies,
December 18th, 1813, aged 22 years.”

“Also of FRANCES, wife of the Rev. Peter Rashleigh,
Rector of Southfleet, in this County,
and daughter of the above Rev. George Burvill, of Boxley.
She died May 14th, 1823, aged 67.”

“Also of JULIANA, wife of
the Rev. George Cumming Rashleigh,
Fellow of Winchester College,
and youngest daughter of the Rev. Peter Rashleigh.
She died December 6th, 1832, aged 42 years,
and was buried at Silverton, Devon.”

“Also of the Rev. Peter Rashleigh, A.M.,
Rector of Southfleet, and Vicar of Barking, Essex,
and one of Her Majesty’s Justices of the Peace
for the Western Division.
He died February 8th, 1830, aged 90 years.”

“Sacred
To the Memory of
George Sandys, Esquire,
Eminent as a traveller, a divine poet,
and a good man,
Who died March iv., MDCXLIII., at
Boxley Abbey, aged LXVI.,
and is interred in the Chancel of this Church.

His life
was throughout blameless, and never unuseful.
Its earliest part
was sometimes passed in observing his fellow-men in
foreign lands,
and its latter years at home,
in celebrating the praises of his God,
and attuning the “Songs of Zion” to the
British Lyre.”¹

“Thou brought’st me home in safety, that this earth
“Might bury me, which fed me from my birth ;
“Blest with a healthful age, a quiet mind,
“Content with little. To this work design’d,
“Which I at length have finished by Thy aid,
“And now my vows have at Thy altar paid.”

G. S.

Erected MDCCCXLVIII.

By an admirer of Talents, Piety and Virtues,
His Humble Emulator in his latter task,
T. Griffith, D.D., Vicar. M(atthew) M(ontagu).

¹ He published a metrical translation of the Psalms.

“In hopes of a joyfull Resurrection, near this place lyes interred the body of Geo. Charlton, Gent. His first wife was Eliz., the daughter of Col. Ja. Hudson, by whom he left issue only one son, Ja. Charlton. His second marriage was wth. Eliz., the daughter of Robt. Andrews, by whom he had 4 sons and 12 daughters. His unaffected Piety towards God and extensive Charity towards men, his steady zeal for the Established Religion and Government, his Conjugal affection and Paternal Love, his commendable Industry in all his affairs, his known Probity in all his actions, that Alacrity with wch. he served his Country and Neighbourhood, that Synserity with wch. he treated his friends, that kindness wch. he exprest to all, made him justly beloved whilst he lived, and lamented when he dyed,

August 12th, 1707, aged 58 years,
In memory of whom, and that Inviolable Affection which Continued betwixt them 23 years, E., his disconsolate widow and executrix hath erected this Slender Monument.”

By the side of it is that of his widow :

“Beneath this Monument is
deposited the Body of Eliz.

Charlton, second wife of

Geo. Charlton, Gent.

ob. 21 May.

Anno { Dom. 1750,
Ætatis 86.”

“On the floor in the S. Aisle, beneath this Monument are tablets

(1) To the memory of Jane, wife of George Charton, of Boxley, died Oct. 26th, 1678, ætat. 56.

(2) To Robt. Andrews, of London, died July 18, 1684, aged 63. Father of Eliz., wife of George Charlton."

"Near this place lie the remains
of
William Alexander, Esq., F.S.A. and L.S.,
One of the Librarians of the British Museum.

He accompanied the Embassy to China
in 1792,
and by the power of his pencil introduced
into Europe a better knowledge of the
Habits and Manners of China
than had been before attained.
He was a man of mild and engaging manners,
Active benevolence and unsullied Integrity,
Waiting patiently for the Glory, Honour and
Immortality, brought to light by the Gospel.
He was born at Maidstone 10th April, 1769.
Died 23rd July, 1816."¹

"Sacred
To the Memory of
Hannah Best,
wife of James Best, of Chatham,
who died 9th May, 1816,
Aged 52 years."

"Also of
the said James Best, Esquire,
who died 10th December, 1828,
Aged 73 years."

¹ This tablet hung in the Chancel until the last restoration of the Church, in 1876, when it was removed to the South Aisle of the Nave.

In the South Aisle are the following to members of the Lushington family :

“ Sacred to the Memory of
Edmund Henry Lushington, Esquire,
Formerly Puisne Judge of Ceylon
And Master of the Crown Office,
who was born July 11th, 1766,
At Petershouse Lodge, in Cambridge,
and died March 26th, 1839,
at Park House, near Maidstone, in this parish.”

“ And of his wife, Sophia,
Daughter of Thomas Philips, Esquire,
of Sedgeley, near Manchester,
who was born July 30th, 1799,
and died January 10th, 1841, at Park House.”

“ Of Louisa Sophia Lushington,
their youngest daughter, born January 28th, 1824,
who died July 19th, 1854,
while travelling from Malta to England,
at Avignon, where she is buried.”

“ And of Henry Lushington,
their second son, born April 13th, 1812,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Malta,
who died August 11th, 1855, at Paris,
Also while travelling from Malta to England.”

“ In token of a debt of love greater
than words or thought can express, or
than life can pay,
This Tablet is raised
By the remaining children
Of Edmund Henry and Sophia Lushington,

To their Father, Mother, Brother and Sister,
In the hope that they may rest for ever and ever
with Him who is God of the living."

"This stone is likewise sacred
To the beloved Memory of Edmund Henry,
only son of Edmund Law Lushington
and Cecilia his wife,
Who was born December 31st, 1843, in Glasgow,
And died October 20th, 1856, at Eastbourne."

"Sacred
To the Memory of
Thomas Davies Lushington,
Third son of
Edmund Henry and Sophia Lushington.
He was born June 29th, 1813,
and died June 17th, 1858,
at sea, off Point de Galle, in Ceylon,
After a life of active employment
For more than 20 years
In the Madras Civil Service
of the East India Company.
His high principle, wide benevolence
and devotion to his public duties
were attested by all connected with him
in official or social intercourse.
The beauty, nobleness and tenderness
of his character
In all the dearest relations of life
will be ever cherished in recollection
By those who knew him best ;

His widow, brothers and sisters,
Who have raised this tablet to his memory."

"Them also which sleep in Jesus
Will God bring with Him."

"Sacred to the pure and tender memory of
Emily, second daughter of
Edmund Law Lushington and Cecilia Lushington,
Born June 23rd, 1849.

From a life of childlike sweetness
Her spirit returned in peace to God who gave it,
On Christmas Day, 1868,
Full of trust in Xt.
And strong in the love which casteth out fear."

"Be thou faithful unto Death, and
I will give thee a Crown of Life."

"Sacred also
To the blessed remembrance of her beloved
and loving Aunt, Ellen Eliza, sixth daughter
of Edmund Henry and Sophia Lushington,
Born April 16th, 1821, died January 14th, 1886."

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,
For they rest from their labours."

"Sacred
To the sweet and hallowed memory of
Lucy Maria,
Third and youngest daughter of
Edmund Law Lushington
and Cecelia Lushington,
Born January 20th, 1853, died October 1st, 1874.

Dear to all who knew her,
 Dearest to those who knew her best,
 She was taken to her rest
 Full of trust in God,
 On whom her mind was stayed,
 Who kept her in perfect peace."

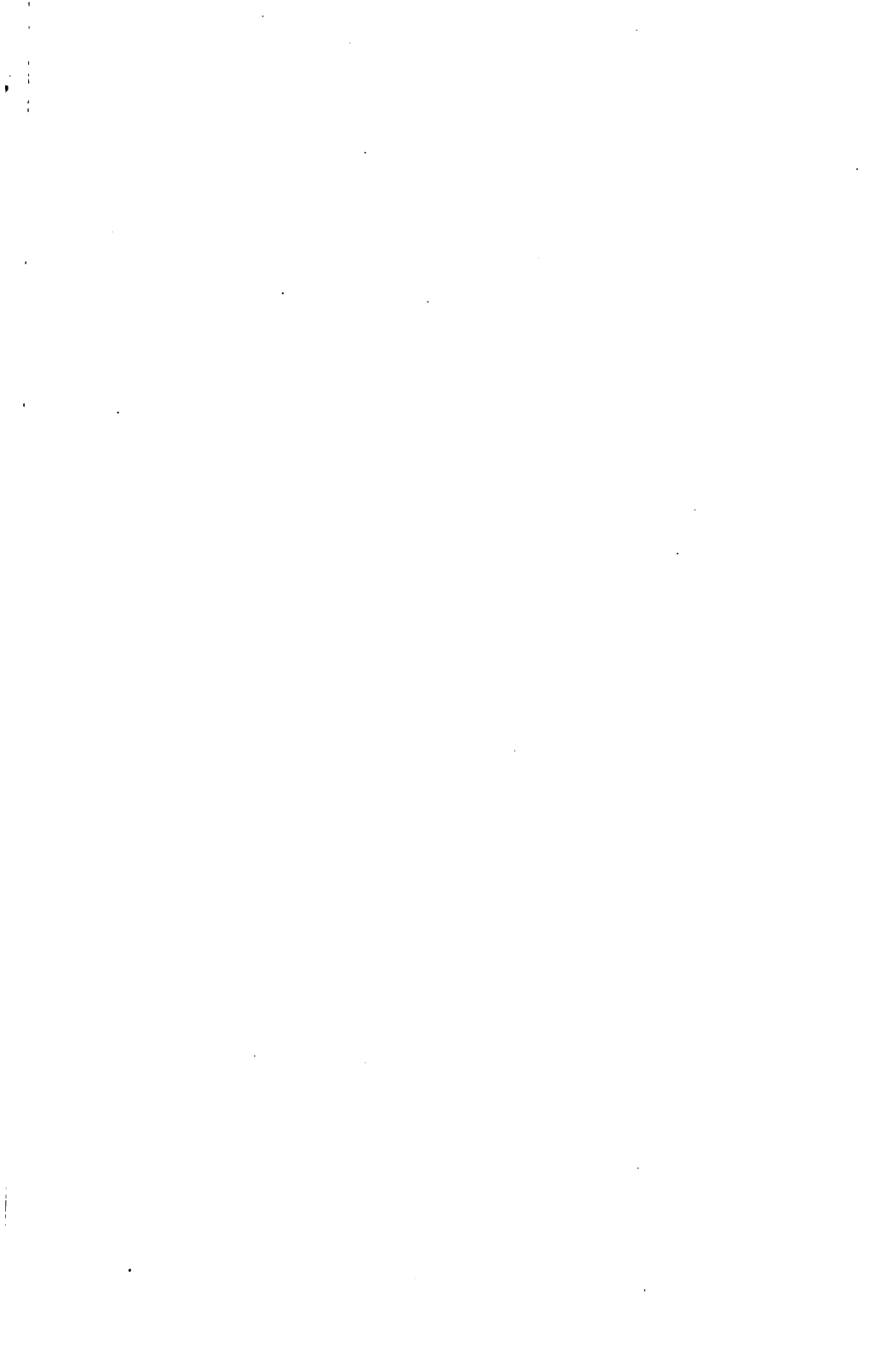
"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."

The last to be here noted is to the memory of one who combined considerable taste with literary power, and was admitted to the "mystic circle" of the Royal Society.

"M. S.
 Edwardi Burton, Soc(ietat)is Regiæ Socii,
 Qui Annos natus LXXVI.,
 Prudens, simplex, probus, pius,
 Ex hac vita migravit,
 Summis expectans meliorem,
 Minime propter sui ipsius
 Omnino propter Jesu Christi merita.
 Die Martii XI. A. S. MDCCCLXVII."

It were no unfitting close of this Chapter on the Church to note the change, made in 1422 at the solicitation of the Vicar and Parishioners, in the "Feast of the Dedication," on the ground of the great inconvenience of the season, under the sanction of Abp. Chichele. It had been originally held on the 10th day of February, but was transferred to the Monday next after the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29th). At present All Saints' Day is observed as the Church's Festival.

“Henricus, (Chichele) &c., &c., dilectis in Christo filiis, Vicario et Parochianis ecclesie Parochialis de Boxle nostre dioc. salutem, &c. Cum festum dedicacionis ecclesie vestre decimo die mensis Februarii ab antiquo fuerit institutum, in quo idem festum nequeat cum solempnitate et reverencia quibus decet debite celebrari. Nos ad vestras supplicacionem et instanciam speciales idem festum a dicto decimo die Februarii usque ad et in diem Lune proximum post festum Sanctorum Petri et Pauli duximus transferendum, et sic transferimus per presentes, ac idem festum eodem die Lune singulis annis in futurum decernimus celebrandum, &c.” (Abp. Chichele’s Register, p. ii., f.355.)



THE WIAT AND MARSHAM PEDIGREE.

ADAM WIAT, de Southange = d. of . . . Wigton, de Norwood.

WILLIAM WIAT, de Southange = JANE, d. of Roger Bailiffe, de Barnsley.

ROBERT WIAT, of Southange = JANE, d. of Richard Skipwith, of Southange.

ANNA WIAT = GALFRIDUS (Geoffrey) WIAT.

RICHARD WIAT, of Southange = MARGARET, d. of William Bailiffe,
als. Clarke, of Southange.

SIR HENRY WIAT, Kt., of Allington Castle, = ANNA, d. of John Skinner,
imprisoned by Richard III., ob. 1537,
buried at Milton near Gravesend. Co. Surrey.

SIR THOMAS WIAT (the Elder) Kt. = ELIZABETH, d. of Sir Thomas Brooke,
of Allington Castle and Boxley,
buried at Sherborne, 1542. (Lord Cobham, beheaded 1537).

SIR THOMAS WIAT (the Younger), Kt. = JANE, d. of Sir William Hawte, Bt.,
m. 1537, beheaded 1554. of Bourne, and Wavering (Boxley).

GEORGE WIAT, Boxley Abbey
restored, 13 Elizab., ob. 1644. = JANE, d. of Sir Thomas Finch,
of Boxwell, ob. 1644. ANNA, m. Sir Roger Twisden.
JANE, m. Sir Charles Scott, of Egerton.

JOHN WIAT, Kt. = MARGARET, * d. of Sir HAWTE WIAT = ELIZABETH, ELEANOR = SIR JOHN FINCH,
m. 1612. (Lord Finch, of Fordwich)

SIR JOHN BURNARD, Bart., ob. 1699.

SIR JOHN BURNARD, Bart., ob. 1699.

SIR JOHN BURNARD, Bart., ob. 1699.

SIR FREDERICK, 8; ob. 1644.

HENRY WYATT = JANE, d. of Sir Edmund Duke, of Cossington, ob. 1700.

EDWIN WYAT, b. 1629 = Serjeant-at-Law, Crispe, Esq., of Quex (Thanet), ob. 1727.

FRANCES, d. of Thomas b. 1630, m. 1660, ob. 1711.

ELIZABETH = Thomas Bosville, Esq., of Little Mote, Eynsford, ob. 1660.

FRANCES WYAT, m. Sir Thomas Seyliard, Kt.

FRANCIS WYAT, ob. unm. 1739.

RICHARD WYAT, ob. 1753, s. p. Archdn. Spratt.

FRANCES, widow of b. 1661, m. 1681, ob. 1710.

MARGARETTA BOSVILLE = Sir Robt. Maesham, Bart., of the Mote, Maidstone, ob. 1703.

SIR ROBERT MARSHAM, Bt., 1st Lord Romney, = Elizabeth, d. of Rear Admiral Sir Cloudeley Shovel, Kt.; ob. 1732.

ROBERT MARSHAM, 2nd Lord Romney = PRISCILLA, d. of Charles Pym, (of St. Kitts,) Esq. b. 1712, m. 1742, ob. 1794.

CHARLES MARSHAM, 3rd Lord Romney, = LADY FRANCES WYNDHAM, (created Viscount Marsham and Earl of Romney, 1801,) b. 1744, m. 1776, ob. 1811.

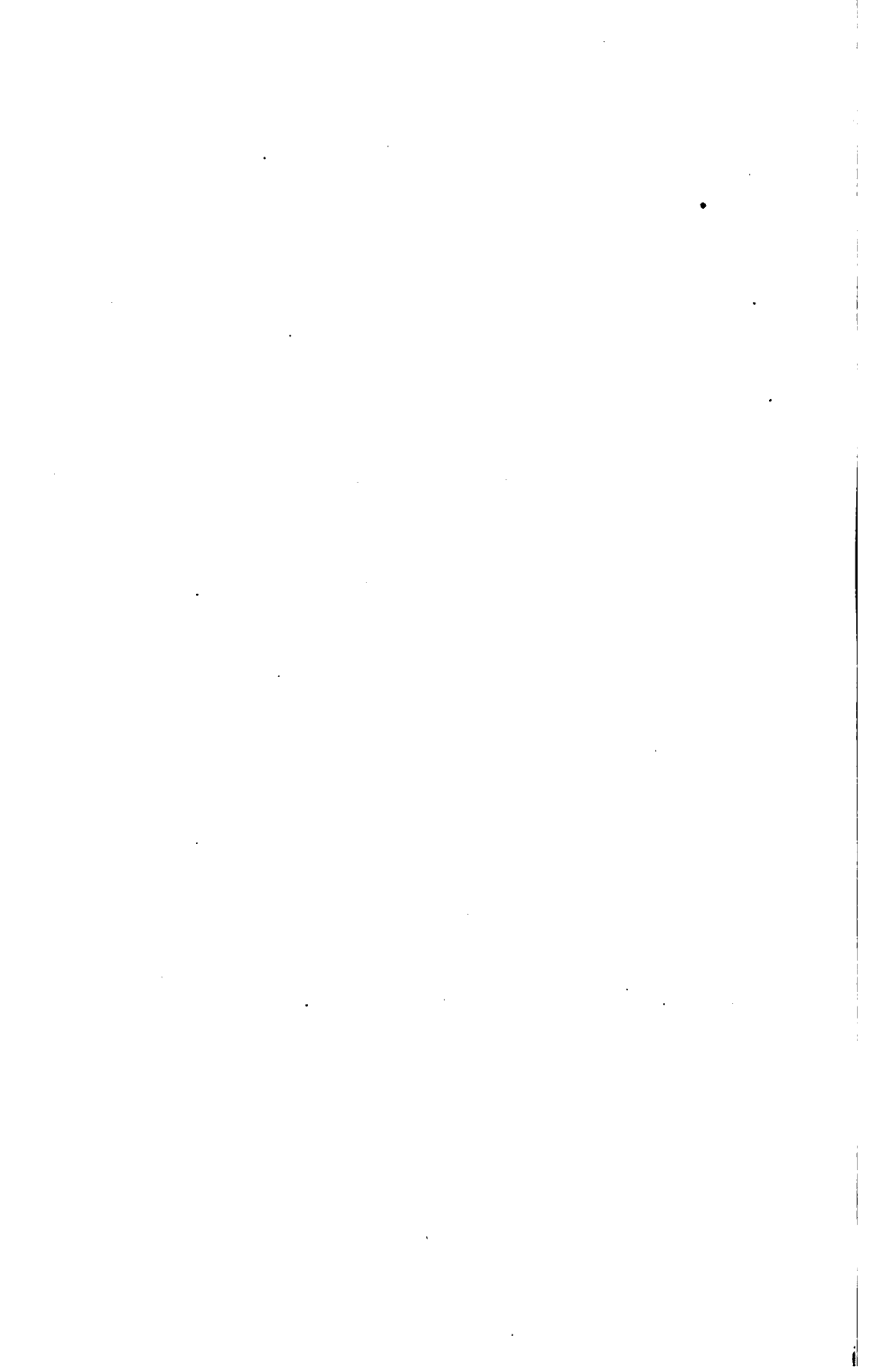
SOPHIA, d. of William Morton Pitt, = CHARLES MARSHAM, 4th Baron, = HON. MARY ELIZABETH, d. of Viscount Sydney, Esq.; m. 1806, ob. 1810. 2nd Earl; b. 1777, ob. 1845. widow of — Cholmondeley, Esq. m. 1832, ob. 1847.

CHARLES MARSHAM, 3rd Earl, b. 1808, = LADY MARGARET HARRIET MONTAGU-SCOTT, m. 1832, ob. 1874. d. of Duke of Buccleugh, ob. 1846.

CHARLES MARSHAM, 4th Earl, = LADY FRANCIS AUGUSTA CAROLINE RAWDON-HASTINGS, b. 1844, m. 1863. d. of Marquis of Hastings.

CHARLES, VISCOUNT MARSHAM.

* In his Will (Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, *Master*, 70) she is called his "most dear wife Jane Margaret."



CHAPTER VII.

THE WIATS.

MUCH as the historic interest of Boxley in early days centered in its Abbey, it must not be supposed that *all* such interest ceased when the Monastic character disappeared. The Suppression of Monasteries, though it swept away the past, opened the way, under changed circumstances, to new and very different interests. Statesmen and Poets here took the place of Cistercian Monks. These, too, have a history, interwoven with that of the Country.

Conspicuous among them comes the name of Wiat. The first of that family to settle in these parts and to attain to any note was Sir Henry Wiat, who in 1492 purchased of the Brents the neighbouring property of Allington Castle. This grand old fortress, like so many of its class, had seen many a change of ownership before it came to the Brents; in previous changes its name becoming supplemented by the patronymic of its owner. For instance, when Edward I. granted to Sir Stephen de Penchester permission to restore and fortify the dilapidated Castle, it became known as Allington Penchester, and when his daughter—he having no son—married Stephen de Cobham, the Castle passed into that family, and was called Allington Cobham. It next

appears, in the reign of Edward IV., in the hands of John Brent, whose descendant sold it, as already mentioned, to Sir Henry Wiat.

In him history presents a striking illustration of the precarious tenure of life and fluctuating fortunes of men during the Wars of the Roses. Henry Wiat was a young Cadet of a Lancastrian house, the youngest son of a Yorkshire Squire. His sympathies threw him in early life on the side of the banished Henry of Richmond, and thus made him an object of avowed suspicion to Richard III., who, while retaining him about the Court, and endeavouring by every art of flattery, cajolery, proffers of advancement, and threats, to win him over, when he found that his loyalty to Richmond was not to be shaken, had him imprisoned and subjected to various forms of torture. Thus he became "the Hero of the Cat."

Considering that so well known a writer as Horace Walpole¹ throws doubt, not only on the story of his being fed by a Cat while in prison, but on his being imprisoned at all, it is important to examine the evidences in support of this family tradition.

Monumental Inscriptions are certainly not always to be relied upon, and if the one in Boxley Church stood alone, ground might perhaps be assumed for doubting its truth. But Sir Henry's own son, the Elder Sir Thomas, declared that his father had himself told him that "the malice of his enemies had kept him two years in stocks and irons."² There is also still extant an account of the whole incident, preserved in the very valuable collection of family Records known as "The Wiat MSS." still in the possession of Lord

¹ Walpole's *Miscellaneous Antiquities*, No. 11, p. 7.

² Nott's *Memoir of Sir Thomas Wiat*, iv.

Romney,¹ the representative of that branch of the Wiat family in England. Referring to the chequered life of his ancestor, it says :

“He was imprisoned often ; once in a cold and narrow Tower, where he had neither bed to lye on, nor cloaths sufficient to warm him, nor meat for his mouth ; he had starved there had not God, who sent a crow to feed his prophet, sent this his, and his Country’s Martir, a Cat both to feed and warm him. . . . It was his own relation from whom I had it. A Cat came one day down into the dungeon unto him, and, as it were, offered herself unto him ; he was glad of her, laid her in his bosome to warm him, and by making much of her, won her love. After this she would come every day unto him diverse times, and, when she could get one, bring him a pigeon ; he complained to the keeper of his cold and short fare ; the answer was, he durst not better it ; but, said Sir Henry, “If I can provide any will you promise to dress it for me ?” “I may, well enough,” said the keeper, “you are safe for that matter :” and being urged again, promised him, and kept his promise, dressed for him from time to time such pigeons as his *Acater*,² the cat, provided for him. Sir Henry, in his prosperity, would ever make much of a cat, and perhaps you will never find a picture of him anywhere, but—like Sir Christopher Hatton with his dog—with a cat beside him.”³

At the Mote, near Maidstone, Lord Romney has portraits of six generations of Wiats, from Sir Henry to his descendant Serjeant Edmund Wiat, and among

¹ Who has kindly placed them at the hands of the Author, with permission to make free use of it in the preparation of this History.

² Caterer or Purveyor.

³ Wiat MSS., No. 30.

them is a picture representing Sir Henry in prison, visited by his friendly cat, who is dragging in a pigeon through the bars.³ Not that this picture is of any real confirmatory value, for the figure of Sir Henry is merely copied from an authentic portrait of him in his old age, also at the Mote, while at the time of his imprisonment he must have been quite young, as he outlived his persecutor, Richard III., no less than 52 years. The date, 1532, which appears on the picture, was also valueless; it was added only a few years ago as the then supposed date of Sir Henry's death, which has been since proved, by the Inquisition taken after his death, to have taken place in 1537.

Here may be appropriately added another extract from the same MSS. which is not without heraldic interest, as accounting for the appearance of the *barnacles* on the shield of this branch of the Wiat family :

"Besides his imprisonments, he was diverse times put into divers kinds of tortures, among others, with an instrument made like the smith's barnacles. . . . In witness of this torment Sir Henry Wyat in certain carpets of his, which I have seen, caused in his arms there the image of the barnacles to be wrought." (In a note by another hand,) "One of the Carpets here mentioned is now in the possession of Francis Wiat, heir of the family, at

³ At the bottom of the picture are the following terse Latin lines with the English translation :

"Hunc macrum, rigidum, mœstum, fame, frigore, cura,
Pavi, fovi, acui, carne, calore, joco.

This Knight, with hunger, cold, and care,
Neere starv'd, pinch'd, pynde away,
I, sillie beast did feede, heate, cheere,
With dyett, warmth, and playe."

Quex, in the Isle of Thanet, 1735, having in the middle the ancient arms—three boars' heads proper, and three lions rampant, on a bar—with *barnacles at each corner.*"

When the usurper Richard had fallen on Bosworth Field one of the first acts of Henry VII. was to liberate his staunch and steadfast adherent, and to raise him in the course of a few years from the private gentleman to the highest honours at Court; ~~he~~^{Hen. VII} made him Knight of the Bath on the day of his Coronation, July 23, 1509, and Knight Banneret on the field, after the Battle of the Spurs, in 1513;¹ then a Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, the Master of his Jewel-House, Treasurer of his Chamber, Privy Councillor, and in the end chose him as one of his Executors.

Sir Henry Wiat had purchased the Manor of Ashele, or Uphall, in Norfolk, to which was attached the office of "Grand Serjeantry of the Table Linen" of the Royal Household.² It was probably in connection with this office that it devolved on him to serve as "Ewerer"³ at the banquet on the Marriage of Anne Boleyn, a duty however which his then advanced age compelled him to delegate to his son, Sir Thomas.

But the purchase which most concerns this history was that of Allington Castle, in 1492, when he left the ancestral home of Southauge, in Yorkshire, for the more famed one on the banks of the Medway, with its chief advantage of proximity to Court. Here he was once

¹ Cott. MSS., *Caligula*, E. I. 58.

² This gave him not only the right to arrange the table at the Royal Coronation Banquet, but afterwards to appropriate the linen to his own use.

³ *Letters, &c., Domestic and Foreign*, Rolls Series, vol. ii., part 1., p. 42. Stow, in his *Annals*, p. 566, says it was probably as Master of the King's Jewel House that this office devolved upon him.

honoured by a visit from Henry VIII., with whom, as with his father, he was in high favour. This visit took place in 1527, and was on the occasion of Cardinal Wolsey's return from his embassy to France, being at that time in the zenith of his honour and power. Cavedish,¹ in his "Life of Wolsey," speaks of the meeting as if it was a very trying one to the good old Knight, who would gladly receive his Liege Lord with all fitting loyalty and honour, but evidently gave to the wily and ambitious Churchman a very doubtful welcome.¹

Additional testimony to the worth of Sir Henry Wiat appears on the monument of his son-in-law, Sir ~~Henry~~ ^{Anthony} Lee, in Quarrendon Church, where he is described as "that faithful and constant servant of two Kings of famous memory, Henry VII. & VIII."

One amusing anecdote preserved in the family Records already quoted,² and corroborated by having a place in more than one contemporary history shows that the worthy Knight was not "unequally yoked," but had in his Lady a kindred spirit. The story is thus told: So seldom did his attendance at Court admit of his visiting Allington Castle that some of his neighbours did not even know him by sight, and "the Lady Wiat and her house" was a more usual phrase a great deal than "Sir Henry's." That in her husband's absence she ruled her house well, the following incident will show: "The Lord Abbot of Boxley coming often to her house and sometimes playing his pranks there, she," like the Dragon of the Castle, "hearing of it, set a watch upon him; so he was taken in the manner, and for his knavery she commanded him to be

¹ Vol. i., p. 122.

² Wiat MSS., No. 41.

carried into the gate-house and be laid in the stocks. . . . The matter was quickly brought to the Council Table; neither might Sir Henry otherwise answer the accusation than with this jest: that his wife was the Master, and he did verily think if he had angered her, as Lord Abbot did, or any of the other Lords there present in that place, where she took herself to be the Justice of the Peace at the least, she would have done as much for him also, or any of them."

The last act, according to Walpole,¹ that his Royal Master imposed on him as a Privy Councillor was "the hateful one of conducting to the Tower Edmund de-la-Poer, ^{Pole} Earl of Suffolk, whom Henry had basely extorted from Philip, King of Castile, while his guest in England, and as perfidiously consigned to execution with his dying breath."²

Sir Henry willed "to be buried in the Churche of Mylton besyde Gravesende, . . . and that my Chantry at Mylton do contynew, stande, and abyde."³ All trace of the tomb has long since disappeared.

The history of his son, Sir Thomas, (always called "the Elder,") though his was a more peaceful life than that of Sir Henry, or that of his son, also Sir Thomas, was not without its incidents of interest. He was born at Allington in 1503, and entered at St. John's College, Cambridge.⁴

¹ *Miscellaneous Antiquities*, No. 11, p. 7.

² This is one of Walpole's "rhetorical flourishes," leading to the inference that Suffolk was at once executed by Henry VII., in his dying moments, whereas he was kept a prisoner in the Tower for seven years, and was beheaded by Henry VIII. in 1513, certainly under the pretext that it was in accordance with his father's dying warning and command. Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*, p. 633. Hume's *History*, Chap. XXVII., vol. iv., p. 433.

³ Consistory Court, Canterbury.

⁴ Cooper's *Athen. Cantab.*, i., 80.

Anthony a' Wood claims him as an *alumnus* of Oxford also, and says "a Portrait of him hung in the Picture Gallery,"¹ assigning to him not only high birth but also high attainments, not only "*ex illustri prosapia*," but "*splendide doctus*," calling him "the delight of the Muses and of Mankind:" while the learned Roger Ascham declares that he was "one of the best translators of the Latin Poets of the age in which he lived." It is no wonder then that many a detail of a life so conspicuous and distinguished should be forthcoming.

His fame chiefly rests on his poetry and his diplomacy ; his early friendship with that noble kindred spirit, the accomplished Earl of Surrey, doubtless helping to stimulate his poetic tastes, and to give him a status in the literary world.

Royal favour, too, seems to have been a heritage of the Wiats, for Sir Thomas was not long in securing it. The incident which brought him, while quite a young man, to the King's favourable notice, while it displayed his discernment, was not without its ludicrous side ; and being little known, may be here related at length.²

He chanced to meet Sir John Russell, afterwards Lord Russell, and first Earl of Bedford, on the eve of his going on an embassy to Rome, and was persuaded to accompany him there. On their arrival they were received with marked attention and effusive courtesy, with all the most attractive blandishments of the Roman Court, with an

¹ Anthony a' Wood's *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, vol ii., p. 973. He says also that on leaving Cambridge he went to Wolsey's College, Oxford, but this College was not incorporated till 1524, at which time Hall (in his *Chronicles*) says Wiat was one of the King's Household. Nott's *Memoirs*, p. 8.

² Wiat MSS., No. 18. Even Dr. Nott, in his *Memoirs*, does not allude to it.



Sir THOMAS WIAT, Kt.



adroitly whispered ¹ offer of "plenary dispensation." But Sir Thomas seeing through their wiles, thus laid with the view of making their embassy a failure, by bringing a scandal on the English character, finding, too, their persistent attempts to defer the negotiations, urged for letters of recall. The sequel cannot be better given than—on the same authority—in the words of Sir Thomas's grandson, who had the account from the son of Sir John Russell himself. He thus records it: "After much delaie and expense of money in the Court of Rome, the Ambassador urging earnestly his despeche on letter from the Kinge, he finally received answer of evil satisfaction, according to the expectation of the former prognostike, which signified to the Kinge, he was suddenly cald home by new letters. And in his returne, in a certain place changing horses, Sir Thomas, in his chamber, on the wall, drew a maze, and in it a Minotaur, with a triple crown on his head, bothe as it were falling, with a bottome² of thred with certain guives and broke chines (? chains) then lying bye, and over, this word—

*Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.*³

This was not finished when the Ambassador remounted with Sir Thomas, who in the way told him what he had left behind him in returne for the scorne used to them on their arrival at Rome, and in distaine of the evil survase of the Kinge's affaires. . . . It was thought an occasion to the Kinge of his imploring Sir Thomas the more in his servisses of importance and trust ever after.

¹ Noticed by Mr. Bruce in a Paper in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1850. N. S., vol. xxx., 4.

² A ball of thread.

³ "The snare is broken, and we are delivered." Ps. cxxiv., 6.

Among the Wiat pictures already mentioned as being at the Mote¹ is a more finished drawing (said to have been drawn for the King's amusement) of that rough sketch on the wall, in which appear the Maze and the Minotaur, as a memento of the encounter at Rome, in which he won his diplomatic spurs.

A man so highly gifted and favoured could hardly hope to escape altogether the slanders and calumnies of Court intrigue, and it was in connection with the name of the ill-fated Anne Boleyn that the busy tongue of scandal assailed him. For a time it told, and he fell into disgrace. But the imputation was one easy to refute, and he was soon restored to favour.² That Sir Thomas did entertain a deep affection for the fascinating Court beauty was admitted: but its very depth, and his own high principle, were the best answer to the charge. And as such the King regarded it; and in 1536 conferred Knighthood on him, and the following year he was nominated High Sheriff of Kent, and also sent on an embassy to Spain.³ While still there he was recalled by the King to hasten to Nice, in order to frustrate the intrigues of Pope Paul III. with Charles V. and Francis I. in a league against England.

This Embassy involved Sir Thomas Wiat in a far graver and more serious charge, which, however, he no less successfully rebutted. Bishop Bonner, of London, was his Colleague, and he, instigated by malice and jealousy,

¹ Not at Quex, as suggested by Mr. Bruce in his Paper.

² Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, ii., 177. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, under the head of Kent (quoted, too, by Nott in his *Memoirs of Sir T. Wiat*, p. xix., n.), says that "by his industry, innocence, and discretion he extricated himself."

³ Nott's *Memoirs of Sir T. Wiat*, p. xxviii.

brought against him a charge of having neglected the King's interest,¹ and even of treason. For this he was tried, but fully and freely acquitted, whereon the King conferred on him additional honours.

It was at this time that by the exchange of lands with the Crown Sir Thomas Wiat became possessed of the Boxley Abbey property,² and is thus brought within the range of the history of Boxley Parish. Of this, however, he had but short enjoyment.

The next honour conferred on him by the King was to prove fatal to him. The Emperor Charles V. was sending a special Ambassador to Henry, and Sir Thomas Wiat was selected for the distinguished office of the King's representative to receive him on his arrival in England. On his journey to Falmouth for that purpose Sir Thomas was attacked with fever, and died at Sherborne, at the early age of 39.

Active as was his public diplomatic life, his early taste for poetry seemed to retain its hold upon him, and when he could steal away from Court for the more peaceful enjoyment of his country retirement on the banks of the Medway, he would still indulge in the pursuit of country sports, and proved himself no unworthy votary of the Muses.

Of his mode of life when in his old ivy-clad Castle more than one incident is preserved among the family Records.³ The following will give an insight into the home of the son of the man who was fed by a cat in prison :

¹ Bp. Bonner's letter charging Sir Thomas with being guilty of what amounted to High Treason, and Wiat's reply, are preserved among the "Petyt MSS." in the Inner Temple Library ; also in Harleian MSS., 243

² See page 9.

³ Wiat MSS.

"He brought up at Allington Castle a Lyon's whelp and an Irish Greyhound, in which he took much delight; and their manner was in his absence to attend his home coming at the gate or hall door, and many times there they met him, and with great delight entertained him. But at length, when the Lyon's whelp grew into courage and heat, insted of friendly welcome it ran roaring upon him, and flew fiercely into his bosome, and had certainly destroyed him but for the greyhound, who coming after the Lyon, was as soon in his neck as he in his master's bosome, and with his teeth pulled him on his back, until Sir Thomas, in a most present and undaunted courage, drew forth his rapier and ran it into the rebel's heart."

"When Henry 8th heard of this memorable accident, withal calling to mind Sir Thomas Wiat's manners towards himself, free from flattery and full of resolution and liberty, "Oh," said he, "He will tame Lyons."

The Inquisition held after Sir Thomas's death shows that he was "seised" of considerable property besides Allington Castle and the Abbey; there were the Manors of Boxley, Newnham Court, Thorne (? Thornham), Ovenhall, Aylesford, East Farley, West Farley, Teston, and East Peckham. But all this was soon to pass away never again to be re-united, through the rash patriotism (some call it Rebellion, because it did not succeed) of his noble-minded son, of whom it is now time to speak.

The name of Sir Thomas Wiat the Younger is chiefly memorable in English history in connection with the Insurrection which he unfortunately headed. Of his life little else is recorded, beyond an incident in his early days which brought him into trouble. Mention has been made of the friendship which existed between him and

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. It would seem to have been transmitted to his son. One result of it was for a time prejudicial to the rising young Courtier, for it involved him in what might at first sight appear to be little better than an unseemly youthful escapade. It occurred thus: In the year 1543 the Earl, moved by what would seem a Quixotic desire to curb the prevailing recklessness of the young Londoners of that day resolved to try to alarm them out of their profane revelries, and to bring them into more orderly lives. The plan he adopted, and in the carrying out of which he enlisted the sympathy of his young friend, was to make a sudden attack in the depth of night on the house in which these rollickers used to meet, and to break all the windows, thus hoping to alarm them into sobriety and awe.¹

For such a disturbance of the public peace, the authorities, being utterly unable to understand or appreciate their motive, arrested them both and carried them off into durance vile, Surrey to the Fleet, and Wiat to the less dignified prison of the Counter.² However, at the intervention of influential friends, they were soon liberated; both, alas, ere many years, to die on the scaffold, Surrey, "the flower of the English Nobility," as the last of the many victims of the suspicious tyranny of Henry VIII., and

¹ An explanation of his motives in this strange nocturnal adventure cannot be better given than in Surrey's own words, in his *Satire against the Citizens of London*, (Nott's *Memoir of the Earl of Surrey*) where he says:

"In secret silence of the night,
This made me with a reckless breast
To wake the sluggards with my bow,
A figure of the Lord's behest,
Whose scourge for sin the Scriptures show, &c."

² Nott's *Memoirs of Surrey*, p. liv.

Wiat, as the victim of his heroic though fatally rash zeal in attempting to prevent the odious alliance of Mary with Philip of Spain.

Thus fell Thomas Wiat the Younger; in the vigorous language of Philipott,¹ he “with an unbroken though calamitous virtue, thinking it a lesse stain to forfeit his estate than to debauch his conscience, stuck close to the Sacramental Covenant by which he and the rest of the Counsel had obliged themselves² to Henry VIII. to preserve as much as in them lay his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, from confederating with any foreign alliance, and so engaged in that design which overset him, and sunk him and his patrimony into that ruine.” He, paying the penalty of his self-sacrificing devotion to his Royal Master’s dying injunctions, was beheaded on the 11th of April, 1554, and the once goodly property, thus confiscated to the Crown, was broken up into portions, to gratify the unscrupulous minions of the Court.

But Elizabeth, when satisfied that the Wiats had no complicity with the intrigues which disturbed the earlier years of her reign, granted a revocation of the Bill of Attainder in favour of George, Sir Thomas’s eldest son, and the representative of the house, and restored to him a portion of the old estate, and three years after granted the Abbey-House and adjoining land to the widowed mother, with reversion to her son George, and the same

¹ *Villare Cantianum*, p. 89.

² The author has in vain searched for the original authority for the inference that Henry did impose this injunction on Wiat and his Colleagues in the Council; but accepts it on the testimony of Philipott, who lived within a century of the time, and, holding a high position at the College of Arms, had the advantage of access to documents, &c., since lost.

To Face Page 146.



Sir THOMAS WIAT, Kt. (The Younger),
cf. Not frontispiece

year gave to her other son, Edward, another outlying portion of the confiscated property.¹

Of George Wyat little seems on record, 'save that he married a daughter of Sir Thomas Finch, of Eastwell, and was diligent in compiling the records of his illustrious ancestors. He died in 1624, and was succeeded in his Allington and Boxley estates by his more distinguished son, Francis, who was Knighted by James I. in 1618, and was Governor of Virginia from 1621 to 1626, and again in 1638, after it had become a Crown Colony. He married Margaret, the daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys, and granddaughter of Dr. Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York. Sir Francis retired to Boxley on his return from America, and died here in 1644. He had a younger brother, Hawte, so called after the surname of his paternal grandmother, who became Vicar of Boxley in 1632, and also of Merston, in this County, and died in 1638, leaving several children, some of whom emigrated to Virginia, under the auspices of their uncle, Sir Francis, where their descendants are numerous at the present day.

Before leaving this generation of the Wyats it may not be out of place to mention two members of the family who indirectly belong to the history of Boxley. In the Church Register, under date 1623, is the name of "Eleanora uxor Joh' Finch," with a Latin elegiac poem from the pen of the then vicar, George Case, reciting her virtues, and alluding to her troubled life. She was the daughter of George Wyat, and in 1612 she married her kinsman, John Finch, then a little known, but rising, barrister. He became Member of Parliament for Canterbury, and was

¹ See pages 10, 12. Patent Rolls, 10 and 13, Elizabeth. Augm. Rolls, ii. n. 10 ; iii. n. 57, 58 ; v. n. 15.

chosen Speaker of the House in 1628 ; five years after, he was appointed Puisne Judge, and the following year Chief Justice of Common Pleas, then a Privy Councillor, and in 1639 made Lord Keeper,¹ and in 1640 raised to the Peerage as Lord Finch of Fordwich. Having been a warm supporter of King Charles's "Ship-money" scheme, he became especially obnoxious to the Parliamentarians, and in the general downfall of the King's party he had to fly for his life, and escaped to Holland. His marriage with Eleanor Wyat was evidently a most unhappy one. She did not live to see his rise, and his fall, for she died in 1623. A letter still preserved among the family Records² discloses a most melancholy state of conjugal estrangement. It was written in 1619, from the house of her kinsman, Sir William Twisden, not long before her death ; a most touching letter,—not an appeal or remonstrance, but an almost dying farewell and assurance of forgiveness for the past,—betraying in most piteous terms a state of hopelessness and resignation. His second wife was a daughter of Dr. Fotherby, for a short time Dean of Canterbury. It is probable that he intended to make the Cathedral City his home after his return to England on the Restoration, for he died there very soon after, and was buried in St. Martin's Church,³ where a fulsome Inscription on a cumbrous monument proclaims his death as that of a man "Full of Offices, full of days. He migrated hence to the Ancient of Days, November 30, 1660, aged 77."

Neither friend nor foe seems to have had much to say in his favour while living. Clarendon,⁴ who was his Colleague

¹ Foss's *Tabulæ Curiales*, p. 17.

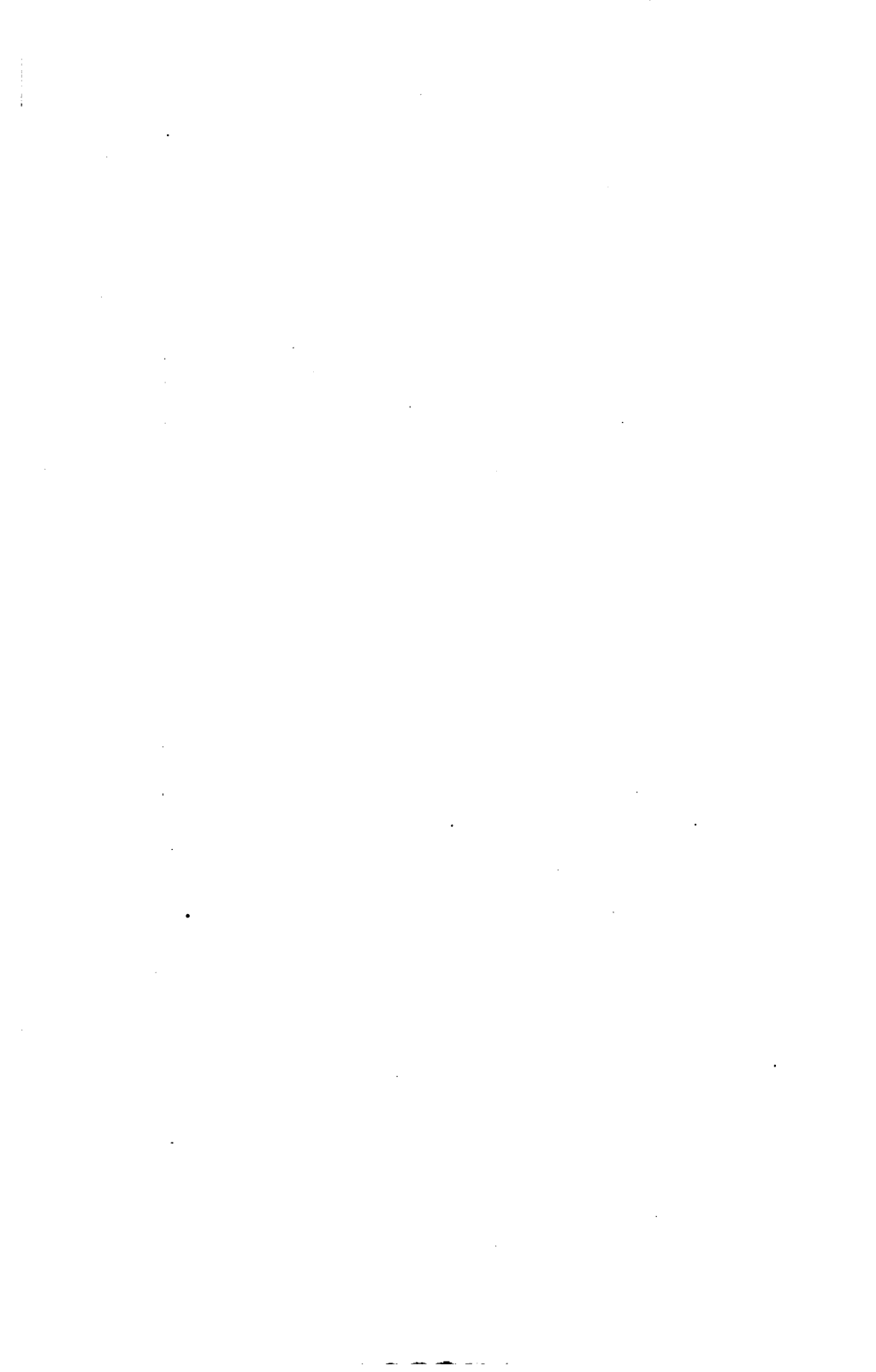
² Wiat MSS., No. 31.

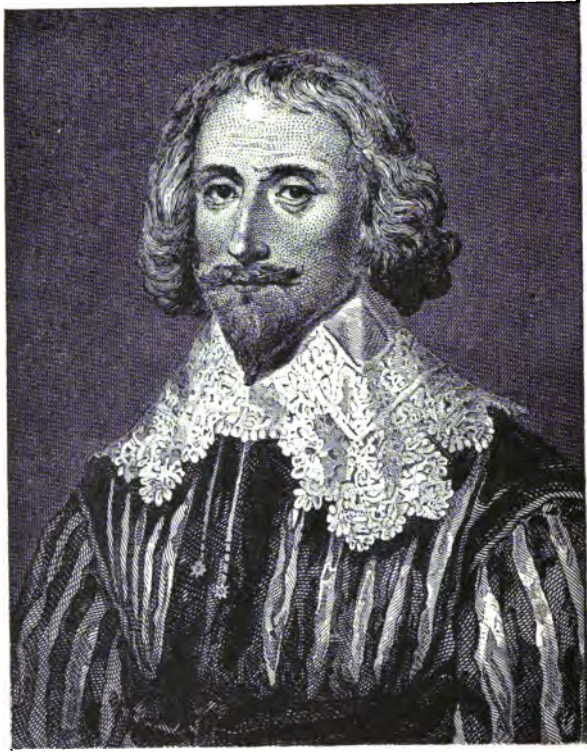
³ Canon Routledge's *History of St. Martin's, Canterbury*, p. 169.

⁴ *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1845), vol. i., p. 30.



SIR JOHN FINCH,
Lord Fordwich.





GEORGE SANDYS.

as a Royalist, said of him that he "had led a licentious life, in a restrained fortune, with a stock of good wit and natural parts, but without the superstructure of much knowledge of his profession." While in the height of his career he was thus described by Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, as "a silent Speaker, an unjust Judge, and an unconscionable Keeper."¹

There is yet one other name which, on the strength of frequent residence at the Abbey, is entitled to notice here. It has been mentioned that Sir Francis Wiat, the Governor of Virginia, had married Margaret, the daughter of Sir Samuel Sandys. George Sandys, Sir Samuel's youngest brother, and therefore uncle of Margaret, Lady Wyat, appears to have made the Abbey a frequent place of sojourn. It has been said that a Prophet is not without praise save in his own country ; but with a Poet the very opposite seems to have held good, at least in this case. George Sandys had been a great traveller. He had achieved "le grand tour" before it had become so common and so fashionable a part of the education of a young man of family. He travelled through the Turkish Empire, Egypt, the Holy Land, Italy, &c., and on his return home published a "Relation of his Journey," replete not only with personal descriptions, but with Classical allusions. He also wrote a "Metrical Paraphrase of the Book of Psalms and the Songs of Solomon." But in Boxley the fame of the Traveller seems to have been lost in that of the Poet, for in recording his death the poetic George Case, then Vicar of Boxley, pronounces him to have been "The greatest Poet of his time," though apparently the outer world took a less exalted view of his poetic powers, for

¹ *Speeches of Lord Falkland*, Br. Museum, E. 106, 9. 26.

Johnson does not name him or even allude to him in his "Lives of the Poets."

Boxley Abbey, however, retained for nearly two Centuries a memorial of his presence here, for so recently as the year 1818 there might be seen, though in decay, the remains of a small building on the raised terrace in front of the present dwelling house, which some pronounced to be one of the old "cells," an idea suggested no doubt by the Monastic surroundings; others called it a "bath," though its elevated position on the top of the wall would disprove either conjecture. Its real history breaks in upon us from a most unlooked for quarter,¹ for Richard Baxter, the celebrated Puritan writer, in one of his letters to a friend, says: "It did me good, when Mrs. Wyat invited me to Boxley Abbey to see on the old stone wall in the garden a Summerhouse with this inscription in large golden letters, 'In this place Mr. George Sandys, after his travels over the world, retired himself for his poetry and contemplation.'" So that after all it was neither a "cell" nor a "bath," but a Summer-house, and its pseudo-classic columns show that it must have been erected during the Wyat occupancy of the Abbey: but all trace of it has long since disappeared.²

To return to the direct line of the family.

Henry Wyat, for so about this time the name came to be spelt, the eldest son of Sir Francis, was born in 1619, and married Jane, the daughter of Sir Edward Duke, Kt., of Cossington, and left an only daughter, Frances, who became the wife of Sir Thomas Sylyard,

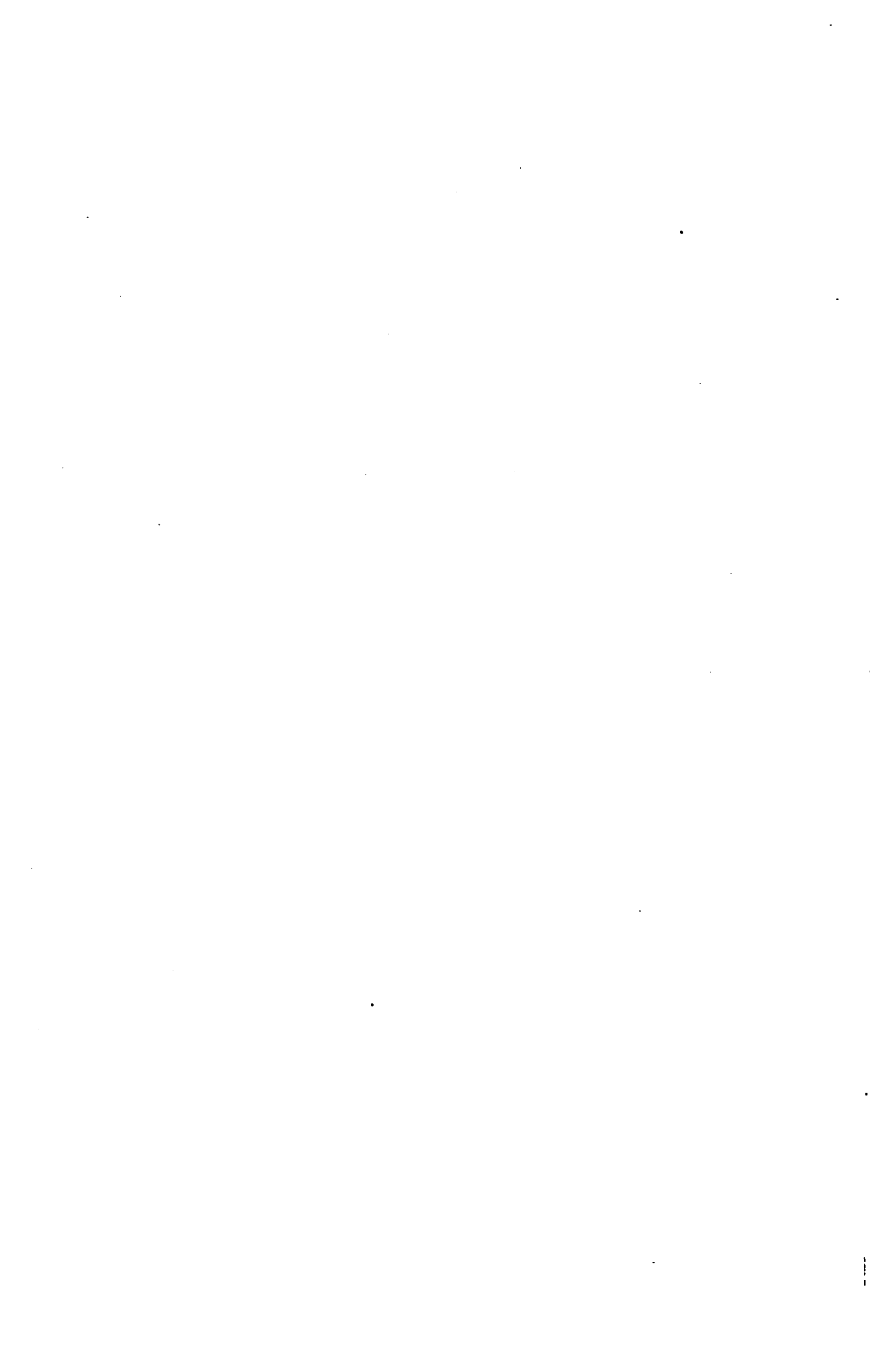
¹ Sylvester's *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*.

² The accompanying Illustration is copied from a print in the "Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet" of 1818, vol. iii., p. 27.



Engraved by J. J. Smith for the Antiquarian & Topographical Illustrations of Kent by J. J. Smith.

Remains of Beaulieu Abbey. Kent.



Bart. Other sons of Sir Francis died in infancy: but in his youngest son, Edwin, who was born in 1629, the family fame was continued. He rose to distinction in the Legal and Political world (as is fully recorded on the massive genealogical Monument erected by himself in the Church); he was Justice of the Peace for the County of Kent, he was made Sergeant-at-Law in 1684, Recorder of Canterbury, and also of Maidstone, which latter Borough he represented in Parliament; he was also Chief Justice of Grand Sessions for the Counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan.¹ In 1665 he married Frances, the daughter of Thomas Crispe, Esq., of Quex, in the Isle of Thanet. His connection with Boxley is chiefly with reference to a family law-suit in which he claimed, and succeeded by arbitration in obtaining, from his niece Lady Selyard that portion of the property which had come to her from her father, Henry Wyat.²

Edwin Wyat died in 1714, leaving his estate to his eldest surviving son, Francis, who, dying without issue, left the Boxley property to his only brother Richard, who also leaving no child, was the last of the English branch of the old Kentish family. From him the Boxley estates passed by bequest to his kinsman, Robert, second Lord Romney, whose paternal grandmother, Margaretta, the daughter of Thomas Bosville, Esq., was grand-daughter of Sir Francis Wyat, Kt., the Governor of Virginia.

¹ So recorded on the monument in the Church (see page 117), but it is doubtful if he was not on a Commission to fill that office.

² Among the Wiat Portraits at the Mote is one of Sir Edwin Wiat by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REGISTERS.

AN unusual feature of this Church Register is that the entries, instead of being arranged in the ordinary manner under the separate heads of BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, and BURIALS, have been inserted promiscuously in the order of time.

A Memorandum on the first page states that it is a Transcript of entries made during the preceding 40 years, the whole being copied out by George Case, the then Vicar, in 1598.

“*Liber Registralis Ecclesiæ de Boxlye, continens nomina eorum qui, a primo beatæ memoriæ Elizabethæ Regiminis anno, vel baptismo initiati, vel matrimonio copulati et conjuncti, vel sepulturæ traditi fuere in dicta parochia.*

*Vivat Elyzabetha Regina
Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hybernæ
Regina, Fidei Defensatrix,
Virgo Virtute Victoriosa”*

“*Emptus fuit liber iste xi. mo. die Octobris anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1598, pretio xs. ex sumptibus dictæ parochiæ, Incumbente tum ibidem Georgio Case, Artium Magistro, Oxoniensi, (Economicis¹ illius anni Johanne Payne et Richardo Goldsmith, anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ xl.*

¹ The Churchwardens were so called as having charge of the Parish Funds.

The entries for the first two years are here given *in extenso*, to show the unusual system above referred to.

Anno Domini 1558. Regni Reginæ Elizabethæ 1.

- B. Mildreda, filia Johannis Scheeffe, baptizata xvii Nov.
- S. Thomas Moningham, sepultus xxviii Nov.
- B. Helena, filia Thomæ Herst, baptizata viii Dec.
- S. Laurentius, famulus Johannis Dunkyn, sepultus x Dec.
- B. Richardus, filius Roberti Bayforde, baptizatus xii Dec.
- S. Agnes, uxor Roberti Waren, sepulta xxvi Dec.
- S. Ambrosius, filius Hugonis Wilks, sepultus xxiii Dec.
- S. Gregorius, filius dicti Hugonis Wilks, sepultus xxvii Dec.
- S. Agnes, filia Willielmi Fletcher, sepulta xx Jan.
- S. Arthurus, filius Johannis Scheeffe, sepultus xv Jan.
- B. Georgius, filius Willelmi Wodyer, baptizatus viii Feb.
- B. & S. Maria, filia Johannis Haynes, baptizata et sepulta xx Feb.
- S. Johannes Hurton, sepultus fuit xxvi Feb.
- B. Rogerus, filius Thomæ Dey, baptizatus vii Marcii.
- B. Georgius, filius Johannis Hopper, baptizatus vii Marcii.
- S. David Jeffre Presbiter, sepultus viii Marcii.
- B. Sara, filia Willelmi Austen, baptizata xii Marcii.
- S. Laurentius, sepultus die Dominica Ramispalmarum (Palm Sunday).
- S. Joanna, uxor Johannis Scheeffe, sepulta xxii Marcii.
- S. Mildreda, filia dicti, Johannis Scheeffe, xxii Marcii.
- S. Ricardus Wright, sepultus xxiv. Marcii.

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- S. Johannes Scheeffe, sepultus xxv Marcii.
- B. Symon Symonis Fidge, filius, baptizata . . . in albis, eodem die.

- B. Elizabetha, filia Willelmi Collens, baptizata fuit eodem die.
- B. Margeria, filia Thomæ Mabisden,¹ baptizata xx Apr.
- M. Matrimonium solemnizatum fuit inter Thomam Gynk et Elizabetham Dudson, xxvi Apr.
- B. Thomas, filius Browne (sic), in festo Ascensionis.
- S. Alicia, filia viduæ Pratt, sepulta vii Maii.
- S. Johanna, uxor Thomæ Hurste, sepulta fuit x Maii.
- B. Thomas, f. Alexandri Henaker, bapt. x Maii.
- B. Benedicta, f. Willelmi Ger, bapt. xv Maii.
- S. Rogerus, f. Thomæ Dey, sep. xxx Maii.
- B. Lodowicus, f. Edwardi Barton, bapt. xii Junii.
- S. Joanna Hawsnod, vidua, sep. xx Junii.
- S. Joanna, f. Willelmi Lorkyn, sept. xxv Junii.
- M. Matrimonium solemnizatum fuit inter Willelmum Packe & Margeriam Burbage, iii Julii.
- S. Lodowicus Goldsmith, sep. vii Julii.
- B. Georgius, f. Thomæ Lewis, bapt. ix Julii.
- B. Johannes Charpe, f. . . . bapt. xvi Julii.
- B. Ricardus, f. Roberti Tyton, bapt. die S'ti Jacobi.
- S. Elizabetha, f. Johannis Gryffyke, sep. iii Sept.
- M. Matrimonium solemnizatum fuit eodem die inter Johannem Heethe & Johannam Fletcher.
- B. Alisia, f. Johannis Dunkyn, bapt. x Sept.
- B. Maria, f. Willelmi Fletcher, bapt. eodem die.
- S. Alisia, f. Thomæ Morgan, sep. ii Dec. (? Oct.)
- M. Matrimonium solemnizatum fuit inter Clementum Monyfylde & Katerinam Bircher, ix Oct.
- B. Willelmus, f. Thomæ Hawsnode, bapt. i. Nov.
- B. Willelmus, f. Johannis Burbage, jun., bapt. v. Nov.

¹ Probably an early form of Maplesden, a family of some importance in Maidstone.

The foregoing, being exact transcripts of the original entries in the Register, will suffice to explain the unusual arrangement alluded to above. In the subsequent extracts the more ordinary mode of placing the date at the beginning of the line has been adopted; and only the names belonging to the leading families, or those who are supposed to have owned the principal estates in the parish, according to Philipott, Hasted, and other writers, and the following abbreviations have been used: *f.* for *filius*, son; or for *filia*, daughter; *bapt.* for *baptizatus* (baptized); *matrim. solemn.* for *matrimonium solemnizatum* (married); and *sep.* for *sepultus* (buried.)

The names which occur the most frequently in the earlier pages and probably represent the yeomen, farmers and labouring classes, are: Scheefe, Dunkyn, Lorkyn, Gryffyke, Hawsnode, Collens (or Collyns), Treves, Goldsmythe, Cressyke, Bassocke, Tylden, Burbage, &c. The Burbages, judging from their Wills in the Canterbury Consistory Court, must have been men of some substance and position in the parish.¹

1559. Matrimon. solemn. inter Johannem Pulter & Elenoram Webb, xiii Jan.

Elizabeth, uxor Willelmi Hartrope, sep. xv Jan.

Matrimon. solemn. inter Johannem Bassocke & Isotam Roberts, x Feb.

1560. Alicia, uxor Johannis Style, sep. xv Apr.

Thomas, f. Johannis Style, sep. xxix Apr.

Agnes, f. Roberti Hartrige,² bapt. xv June.

Matrimon. solemn. inter Willielmum Hartrope & Johannam Fidge, xi Aug.

¹ Is it possible that Richard Burbage, the contemporary and theatrical colleague of Shakespeare, was of this family?

² The name still has representatives in the parish.

1560. Johannes, f. Johannis Bassocke, bapt. xviii Aug.
Matrimon. solemn. inter Willielmum Beache &
Aliciam Gose, xxi Sept.
Matrimon. solemn. inter Willielmum Bened &
Marianam Wyat, xx Jan.
Thomas, f. Launceloti Tybold, bapt. viiii Marc.,
sep. v Apr.
1561. Anna Mason, vidua, sep. xxii Maii.
Johannes, f. Willielmi Fletcher, bapt. xiii Dec.
Matrimon. solemn. inter Ricardum Gryffin &
Margeriam Mason, xviii Jan.
Willielmus, f. Johannis Style, bapt. i Feb.
Elizabetha, f. Johannis Burbege, bapt. i Feb.
1562. Elizabetha, f. Willielmi Bened, bapt. xix Apr.
July iv., Matrim. solemnizat. inter Davidem
Somner¹ et Aliciam Reve.
Johanna, f. Launceloti Tybold, bapt. xxiii Oct.
Matrimon. solemn. inter Johannem Style & Aliziam
Bryce, xiii Jan.
1563. Johannes Cryssicke, paterfamilias, sep. xviii Sept.
Launcelotus Tybold, paterfamilias, sep. x Nov.
Mathia, uxor Thomæ Vicarye,² sep. ix Marc.
1564. Alicia, f. Johannis Wylson, sep. xv Aug.
Elizabetha, f. Johannis Wylson, sep. xxvii Aug.
Johannes Wilson, Rosa uxor ejus, ac Robertus,
f. dicti Johannis Wilson, sep. xxix Aug.

¹ Sometimes spelt Sumner.

² Thomas Vicary, or Vicars, in his Will describes his house as being "next Boxeley Church." His connection with Boxley may be thus accounted for: "He was at first a meane practitioner in Maidstone, until he was advanced for curing Henry VIII.'s sore legge," when the King granted him a lease of some of the Abbey lands, as also of the tythes and glebe land of the Rectory, and made him Bailiff of the Manor of Boxley. Will in Somerset House, *Streat*, f. 10. Manningham's *Diary*, p. 51. Hasted's *Kent*, iv., 350.

1564. Abrahamus, f. Johannis Burbage, jun., bapt. iii Dec.
 1565. Alicia, f. Johannis Bassocke, bapt. xxiii June.
 1566. Rogerus Jones, quondam incumbens hujus parochiæ,
 sep. xv Aug.
 1569. Jana Thomæ Vicarye, f., bapt. xv Jan.
 1570. Margareta Thomæ Vicary, f., sep. xx Apr.
 1571. Matrimon. solemn. inter Robertum Bruar¹ & Mariam
 Clerke, xxix Oct.
 1572. Jacobus Roberti Bruar, bapt. xvi Nov., sep.
 xxviii Dec.
 1574. Jana Thomæ Onglye,² filia, bapt. xxviii Marc.
 1575. Matrimon. solemn. inter Johannem Hartridge &
 Johannam Burbage, xi Apr.
 1576. Ricardus Tomyow,³ armiger, sep. xii June.
 Thomas Roberti Bruer, f., bapt. xxi Sept.
 1577. Richordus Richardi Tylden, f. bapt. x Nov.
 1578. Matrim. solemn. inter Josephum Style et Annam
 Tylden. xxix Julii.
 1579. Elena Roberti Bruer, f. bapt. Dec. xiii, sep. xxii.
 1580. Katerina Baker, de Allington D'na sep. xxiv Julii.
 1581. Willielmus Roberti Bruer, f., bapt. viii. Oct.
 Thomas Johannis Fielde, f., sep. iv Dec.
 Johannes Johannis Fielde, f., sep. xxviii Dec.
 Georgius Johannis Fielde, f., xi Jan.
 Maria Walteri Chamnes,⁴ f., bapt. xvii Marc.
 1582. Henricus Fisher, generosus, sep. ix Oct.

¹ This name passed through several forms, Bruar, Bruer, and eventually Brewer. The family appears to have originally held a small manor called "Ovenhill," and afterwards "The Park."

² The Ongley family the owned Vinter's (see page 5).

³ A description of the memorial brass, and of the difficulty of decyphering the surname, (which is here cleared up,) is given on pp. 116, 117.

⁴ The Chamneys, or Champneys, family rented Vintner's of them for some years (see page 112).

1582. Maria Walteri Chamnes, f., bapt. xvii Marc.
1583. Matrimon. solemn. inter Thomas Smythe & Mariam Fletcher, ii Junii.
 Willielmus Chamnes, paterfamilias, sep. xi Marc.
 Johanna Johannis Kenet, Hybernici, f., bapt. xxiii Oct.
1584. Elena Roberti Bruer, f., bapt. xiii., sep. xxi Sept.
 Maria Roberti Bruer, uxor, sep. xxix Sept.
 Henricus Walteri Chamnes, f., bapt. xxiii Feb.
1585. Thomas Thomæ Fisher, f., bapt. xxv Julii.
 Matrimon. solemn. inter Johannem Childe, verbi Dei ministrum, & Annam Whetly, xv Sept.
 Elena Stephani Vicarye, bapt. xviii Nov.
 Ricardus Roberti Bruer, f., bapt. ii Jan.
1586. Elizabetha Thomæ Fletcher, f., bapt. iii Julii.
1587. Henricus Thomæ Rumnye; f., bapt. xxv Jan.
 Johannes Payiant, paterfamilias, sep. ii June.
 Johannes Walteri Chamnes, sep. xvi Sept.
 Johannes Stephani Vicarye, f., bapt. xxiii Sept.
1588. Willielmus Hartroppe, paterfamilias, sep. xxix Aug.
 Elizabetha Thomæ Fisher, f., bapt. viii Sept.
 Johannes Walteri Champnes, f., bapt. xviii Marc.
1589. Philippus Hilles, prius Incumbens hujus ecclesiæ de Boxlye, sep. xxi Junii. *Cui successi Georgius Case, multum in utilis Xti servus.*
 Willielmus Marmionis Haselwod, f., bapt. i Sept.
 Elizabetha Roberti Bruer, uxor, sep. xiv Dec.
1590. Walterus Walteri Chamnes, f., bapt. xxiii Aug.
 Edwardus Wyat,¹ generosus, sep. xxvt Nov.

¹ A younger son of the second Sir Thomas, to whom Queen Elizabeth had granted a portion of the Abbey lands (see page 13). His Will (Archd. Court, Cant, Lake, 414) was proved by the Vicar, George Case.

1590. Matrimon. solemn. inter Walterum Streine & Joisam Tylden, xv Feb.
1591. Johannes Thomæ Fisher, f., bapt. xxv Apr.
Paululus Georgii Case, f., a partu, sep. die Magni Martyris.¹
Benedicta Willielmi Mason, uxor, sep. xxx Sept.
Johannes Roberti Brewer, f., bapt. xix. Dec.
1592. Matrimon. solemn. inter Willielmum Mason & Agnetem Walker, viduam, xxviii Oct.
1593. Johannes Georgii Case, Ministri de Boxlye, bapt. xxx Maii.
Johanna Kenerston de Frensbury, sep. x Apr.
1594. Jana Thomæ Fisher, f., bapt. iv. Aug.
Agnes Willielmi Mason, uxor, sep. (de plague)² xv Sept.
Elizabeth Thomæ Fisher, f., sep. (de pl.) iv Oct.
Stephanus Lorkin, puer, sep. (per pl.) eodem dic.
Johannes Thomæ Fisher, f., sep. (de pl.) v Oct.
Jana dicti Thomæ, f., sep. (de pl.) viii Oct.
Thomas Thomæ Fisher, f. sep. (de pl.) xvi Oct.
Robertus Stringer, claviger ecclesiæ, sep. (de pl.) xxviii Oct.
1595. Katerina f. Georgii Case, ministri de Boxly, bapt. xx Junii.
Willielmus Nicholai Forteschue, f., xxi Julii.
Francisca Timothei Hawte, f., bapt. xiiii Sept.
Johannes Thomæ Fisher f., bapt. xii Oct.

¹ Festival of S. Magnus the Martyr, August xix.

² What is here called "the Plague" could have been little more than a local epidemic, for no mention of it occurs in any general history of the time. And of eleven deaths here registered as occurring between October and December, no less than six were members of one family, the Fishers.

1595. Ellis Gwinne, *Curatus, extravagans post ebrietatem malleolo percussus a Thomæ Kemslye*, sep. vii Nov., (added to this in Greek characters)¹

‘Οἷα τ’ ἀνὴρ ρέζοι τόσον τέλος ἄντ’ ἱκανοί²

Katerina Willielmi Webb, f., bapt. xii Dec.

1596. Willielmus Roberti Austen, f., bapt. iii, sep. v Sept.

1597. Gwillielmus Baynham, armiger, sep. xxiii Oct.

Matrimon. solemn. inter Edwardum Batherst & Nazaretum Leuson (Leveson), xxviii Dec.

1598. Thomas Georgii Case, Ministri de Boxlye, f., bapt. xx Aug.

Matrimon. solemn. inter Willielmum Allen, de Westfarlye Ministrum, & Mariam Bromston, ii Oct.

Thomas Weaver, *adolescens lapsus vacca succussus et collisus interiit*³ et sep. fuit xxi Dec.

1599. Maria Willielmi Cutts,⁴ f., bapt. xviii Oct.

1600. Matrimon. solemn. inter Thomam Haule & Annam Walter, xxx Marc.

Theophilus Theophili Allen, f., bapt. xxx Marc.

Alicia, f. Stephani Hartroppe, xix Maii.

Thomas Fisher, sep. xxix Aug.

Johanna, f. Walteri Champen (sic.), bapt. xviii Oct.

Agnes, f. Georgii Case, presb’, bapt. xviii Jan.

¹ Ellis Gwinne, “wandering about in a state of drunkenness, was knocked down with a mallet by Thomas Kemslye.”

² “Such an end comes to the man who adopts such courses.”

³ “A young man, who died from being gored and tossed by a cow.”

⁴ Dr. Cutts received the grant of Vinter’s from the Queen, on its being confiscated from Sir Henry Isley, of Sundridge, in consequence of his being concerned in Wiat’s Rebellion. (Hasted, iv., 342.) His elder brother, Sir Henry Cutts, lived at Bimbury, in Thornham; the North Transept in the Thornham Parish Church is still known as Cutts’s Chapel, or Chantry.

1601. Matrimon. solemn. inter William Kerryrn & Margaretam Fisher, viduam, xi Maii.
Francisca Thomæ Haule, f., bapt. xxi Junii.
Thomas, f. Georgii Allen, bapt. xx Jan.
1602. Anna Willielmi Cutts, f., bapt. i Julii.
Johannes Cutts, generosus, sep. xvi Oct.
1603. Thomas Thomæ Haule, f., bapt. Marc. vi.

*(Regni Jacobi, Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ,
Regis primo, Scotiæ 36, Quod felix et faustum sit.)*

Anna Willielmi Cutts, uxor religiosa, sep. xviii Julii.
Barbara Willielmi Cutts, f., bapt. eodem die.
Lyddia Georgii Case, de Boxley Ministeri, f.,
bapt. xxv Oct.

(Testibus Geo. Best, Henrico Webb, Jana Wyatt,
Cecilia Wyat.)

- Sara Willielmi Allen, f., sep. xxi Dec.
Francisca Ferdinandi S'ta Cecilie,¹ f., bapt. viii Jan.
Thomas Georgii Wyat, Armigeri, f., bapt. iv Marc.
1604. Johannes Feilde, paterfamilias, sept. xviii Junii
Mat. solemn. ex licentia inter Annam Knowles,
tunc tempore commorantem in parochia de
Boxlye, & Nicholaum Bennet, de Chatham, per
Rectorem S'te Marie Bredman, in civitate
Cantuariensi, xvii Feb.
1605. Matr. solemn. inter Johannem Whatman & Joisam
Peene, xx Oct.
Georgius, f., Chaveleri Mackett (alias Marcott),
bapt. xvi Marc.

¹ Probably a member of the family known by the name of Santacilia, which early in the 17th Century had settled in Boxley. See Leveson-Gower's *Extracts from the Boxley Registers*; *Genealogist*, New Series, vol. i.

1606. Willielmus Stocke, collisu calcis effosi percussus
mort. et, sept. v Aug.
Ricardus Tylden, paterfamilias, sept. xxix Oct.
Matr. solemn. inter Johannem Kember & Janam
Goldsmith, i Dec.
Domina Maria D'ni Cavaleri Maykott (alias Mac-
worth), militis uxor, sept. xxx Dec.
1607. Georgius Johannis Kember, f., bapt. xix July.
Repent Stephani Beeching, f., bapt. & sept. iii Oct.
1608. Katherina Wyat, virgo, sep. May 10.

(On whose death the Vicar penned the following metrical Epitaph :)

“ Quam Fasti infesti ! nec norunt parcere Parcæ !
Mors mordax ! quovis cæca sepulchra loco !
Quam bene te nostris (Katerina Viatta) Registros
Expunxisse velim, si modo Fata velint !
Sed sic certa Dei constat sententia Summi
Crimine quæ nata est, Morte metenda, seges.
Quin metat ipsa sua resecandaque tempore falce,
Namque Dei Vox est : Mors ego mortis ero.”

(Of these lines he also gives in the last page of the Register the following English translation :)

“ Unhappy Rolls, and you, more stubborn Fates,
Thou stinging Death, and Graves on every hand,
How well coulde I (fayre Katherine) erase these dates,
Yf Destinyes my wishe did not withstand ;
But now, syth thus it stands with God's decree,
That what in synne is sowne must downe by death,
It skyls not, let hym on, and wee shall see
Hymself cutt downe by hym that stops Death's breath.”

GEO. CASE.

- Elizabetha Johannis Whatman, f., bapt. May 16.
Matr. solemn. inter Willielmum Tylden & Mari-
anam Hartrop, May 31.
Matr. solemn. inter Johannem Pylgram & Abigalem
Case, Dec. 7.
1609. Robertus Henmarsh, casu interiensi, sept. Dec. 30.
(*Sic Vitæ incerta est horu necisque tuæ.*)

1609. Matr. solemn. Richardum Bradby & Aliciam Covert.
Feb. 6.

1610. Elizabetha, Walteri Covert, f., bapt. March 10.
Ann, Dorothea Johannis Whatman, f., bapt. Apr. 7.

On a later page these lines are introduced under the date 1623, immediately after those on Hellena (Wyat), the wife of John Finch; but here inserted as referring to Anna and Katherina Wyatt.¹

1611. Robertus Brewer, generosus, sept. June 15.
Anna, Georgii Wyatt,¹ generosi, f., sep. 7 Sept.

Prosopopeia Katherinæ Georgii Wyatt filiae ad Annam sororem suam inter mortuas :

Kath. Anna Soror ! Quid non vetat umbras esse suorum
loquitur. Permemores ? animisve aliquem post funera sensum ?
Dic, age ; quæ subiti a terris tibi causa recessus ?

Anna Tune, soror, rogitas quum sis mihi præmia factis ?
respondit. Dicam equidem. (ac meminisse potes) quam Mundus ab omni
Parte malis teritur. Nulla est constantia. Dictis
Nulla fides. Etiam lapsa est dilectio veri.
Auri sacra fames, homicædia, furta, libido,
Ebrietas, luxus, lascinia, jurgia, fraudes,
Hæc studia et mores populis sunt omnibus uni. (?)
Neve nimis recto moveamur tramite vitæ.
Sic visum est summo cursum abbreviare parenti.
Et, (quoniam carne exulis diviniore aura
Influit) esse reor tempus jam jamque futurum,
Quo nostram perhibent prægnantem fata sororem,
Conjugio junctam perhonesto huc tendere gressum.
Et nisi me Parcæ per vana augure ludant,
Haud aberit tempus post tertia lustra propinquum,
Quo pater ipse diem senio confectus obibit,
Hucque duos tenera natos ætate reducet.
Interea mæstos bonitas Divina parentes
Dum nos invisant provecta ætate beabit.

Pastorali affectu scripsit, GEO. CASE, Boxl., Vicar.

¹ Who had died May 10th, 1608 (see preceding page).

1612. Nicholaus Edwardi Bogherst, f., bapt. Nov. 30.
1613. Matrimon. solemn. inter Johannem Vicary &
Johannam Atkin, Aug. 24.
Anna Walteri Covert, f., bapt. 5 Sept.
Samuel Johannis Vicare, f., bapt. ix Jan.
1614. Ruth Johannis Whatman, f., bapt. 3 April.
Johannes Hartredge, mortuus in Boxley, sep. apud
Bearsted, 7 May.
Margareta Vicarye, vidua, sep. 10 May.
Jana, Edwardi Bogherst uxor, sep. 10 June.
Thomas ejusdem Edwardi, f., bapt. eodem die.
Elizabetha, uxor Willielmi Covert, sep. July 14.
Cecillia Wyatt, vidua, sep. July 20.
1615. Christiana Johannis Brewer, f., 29 Apr.
Walterus Walteri Covert, f., bapt. June 29.
Matrimon. solemn. inter Edwardum Bust.
& Mariam Covert, ex lic. de Archivis, 12 Sept.
Hellena Johannis Vicarye, f., bapt. 12 Nov.
Johannis Norris & } sepulti { ille 19 Jan.
Elizabetha, uxor ejus } { hæc 25 Jan.
1616. Matrimon. solemn. inter Edwardum Cutbushe &
Janam Amherst, 12 Aug.
Elizabetha Johannis Brewer, gen., bapt. xv. Aug.
1617. Maria Clarke, gen., vidua sep. 12 Aug.
Anna Johannis Whatman, f., bapt. Sept. 7.
Johanna Bogherst, vidua sep. Sept. 14.
Francisca Johannis Brewer, f., bapt. March 16.
1618. Thomas Walteri Covert, f., bapt. July 30.
Christopherus Johannis Vicary, f., bapt. Nov. 8.
Francisca Johannis Case, presbyteri, f., March 7.
1619. Henricus Francisci Wiatt, militis, f., bapt. Apr. 4.
Martha Johannis Brewer, f., bapt. June 24.

1619. Abrahamus Jacobi Whatman, f., bapt. Nov. 28.
 Willielmus Shawe, *celebs, qui testamento suo in
 testimonium conversionis suæ a papisticis erroribus
 Winefredæ, Georgii Case, de Boxleæ Ministri, con-
 jugi, et monitrici suæ, xx. solidos legavit, sepultus fuit.
 Dec. 3.*
 Matrimon. solemn. inter Thomam Billingsly a
 Katherinam Case, Feb. 22.
1620. Willielmus Johannis Whatman, f., bapt. June 15.
 Johannes Walteri Covert, armigeri, f., bapt. June 15.
 Matrimon. solemn. inter. Edwardum Bogherst &
 Katherinam Fearnese, July 25.
 Georgius Francisci Wyat, militis, f., bapt. Sept. 8.
 Maria Johannis Brewer, armigeri, f., bapt. Dec. 8.
1621. Joyse Johanuis Whatman, uxor, sep. Jan. 31.
 Davyd Johannis Vicary, f., bapt. Feb. 18.
 Robertus Willielmi Wyatt, f., bapt. July 22.
1622. Francisca Roberti Brewer, generosa vidua sepulta
 fuit, Nov. 16.
 “Tu quoque jam nostris ades inscribenda Registris,
 Sancta, pudica, pia, et generosis moribus aucta,
 Francisca, egregiis multum memorabilis actis,
 Sive fidem seu quis benefacta repandere tentat :
 At quia jam vivis populorum inserta sepulchris,
 (Cordibus es etenim) tua funera viva relinquo,
 Atque animam ad superos volitantem mente reviso.”
1622. Alicia Tilden, vidua honesta, obstitrix, sep. Jan. 13.
 (A valued midwife, whose merits are thus commemorated :)
 “Tuque etiam nobis conjuncta fidelibus actis,
 Infantum in vita multorum nata saluti,
 Hos cape versiculos specialis pignus amoris,
 Dum liber hic durat, Tildeni casta relicta.”
- Anna Jacobi Whatman, f., bapt. Sept. 8.
1623. Thomas Johannis Brewer, armigeri, f., bapt. Aug. 1.

1623. Hellena (Wyatt), uxor Johannis Finch, sep. Dec. 7.

"Tertia jam nostris prodit memoranda Registris
Wyatto genita, et Fincho modo nupta, sororum ;
Hellena dicta quidem, tantoque venustior illa,
Quam Graia celebrant multo splendore Camenæ,
Quanto animæ superant quæ sunt in corpore dotes,
Chasta, pudica, pia, et generosis moribus aucta,
Qualem (si parilem) vix ætas dexteriolem
Dotibus ingenii et purpatæ Religionis
Ulla tulit, feretve : tuæ decus (incluta) stirpis
Cujus dum placido requiescunt membra sepulchro,
Ille petit superum generosus spiritus arces."

Johannes Johannis Vicary, f., bapt. Dec 22.

Honora Alexandri Sevellan de S'to Georgio South-
wark, uxor, sep. Dec. 23.

Vera D'i Willielmi Tufton,¹ equitis, f., sep. 23 Jan.

1624. Maria Symonis Allen, f., bapt. 29 March.

Elenora Henrici Wiat, generosi, f., bapt. 1 Sept.

Georgius Wyatt,² armiger, sep. 1 Sept.

Epitaphium per Prosopopeiam ad filias præmortuas :

"Ite, meæ, quondam felicia pignora, Natæ,
Quo Deus et verum melior natura vocarit,
Ite, sequor. Quid nunc juvat hiis subsistere terris ?
Hiis ? ubi plena malis sunt omnia ; Plena laborum,
Nullaque justitiæ, pietatis nulla cupido.
Bella, ubique arma, minæ, ac ubi pullulat hæresis omnis,
Jurgia, furta, doli, cædes, vis, atque rapinæ,
Lites continuæ ; et quæ sunt inimica quieti,
Luxus et ebrietas, et amor sceleratus habendi ;
Et furor, et quicquid studiis agitur iniquis.
Altera nam Babilon, Egypus, Sodoma, Mundus.
Quin agite, O ! natæ, fugiamus sedibus istis,
Queramusque solum, pietas ubi sancta moratur,
Atque habitat tuto Reverentia Numinis alti.
Sat nos, sat miseræ complevimus aspera vitæ

¹ The Tufton family owned Vinter's from 1623 to 1660. See pp. 5, 112.

² He was the son of the unfortunate Sir Thomas Wiat, who had been
been beheaded by Queen Mary in 1554. To him Elizabeth had restored the
Abbey lands in 1570. See pages 10, 146.

“Munia, et innumeras curarum trivimus horas.
 Jam fidei falcanda seges meriesque (*sic*) laborum.
 Et pater et patriæ spectanda est gloria nostræ.
 Fælices igitur dissutis corporis hujus
 Stramineis tectis, quibus est fas scandere cœlos.
 Quin vos; O generis nostri, michi delicta propago,
 Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere Numen,
 Ut quando est vobis sedes vertenda, supremi,
 Præmissis nobis, teneatis gaudia Regni.”

Henricus Wiat, artium magister, et minister, sep. 10.
 die nov; anni, nempe Jan. 1.

“Siccine continuos luctus causasque doloris
 Mors inopina refers, cumulasque sepulchra sepulchris,
 Fronte quidem senibus, de tergo, adversa juventam?
 Non tibi sat rapuisse patrem, quem sancta senecta,
 Plurimaque ornarunt meliorum pragmata rerum?
 Non una rapuisse domo tria lecta sororum
 Corpora, et exuviis matrem cruciasse priorum?
 Aspera ni gnatum, divina ad mnnera natum
 Præpropere primo rapuisses flore juventæ!
 Sed quid te querimur? vel quid tua jura moramur,
 Quando ipsi artifices fuimus sibi quisque malorum?
 Nostra tuis aciem, virusque errata sagittis
 Attribuire: tamen quum sit medicina parata
 Sanguine salvifici et mediantis ad omnia Christi,
 Quid scelerata minas, vel quid inania spicula jactas?
 Guttula nam tanti sanant tua vulnera lustrî,
 Hoc igitur requiescit humi subtegmîne corpus;
 Spiritus æternum faciet cum Numine Festum.”

1624. Jana Johannis Brewer, armigeri, f., bapt. Feb. 26.
 Ds. Henricus Finche, Miles, *Serviens-ad-leges*
 (Sergeant-at-law), sep. Oct. 13.

“Dum furit in populo pestisque luesque misello,
 Quærit et interios plebs (?) generosa lares;
 Finchus eques, pietatis amans, legumque peritus,
 Boxlæ nostris sedibus hospes adest.
 Multa ubi cum charis solennia gessit amicis,
 Jejunis socius, letitiisque comes;
 Correptus febro, (placuit sententia Summo)
 Occubat, et molli membra reponit humo.
 Astra petit generosa anima; et perpræpete penna
 Inter cælicolas fertur habere locum.”

The following is here inserted under date Jan. 1625 :

“ In obitu lectissimi juvenis Thomæ Wyatt prefati
Georgii Wyat filii junioris, qui obiit & sepultus
fuit Maydstonii, die S'cti Thomæ Apostoli,
memoriale.”

“ Nec dum fata sinunt calamum requiescere chartis,
Mortis ad imperium pagina nulla vacat.
Namque tenellus adhuc, et primo flore juventæ
Wyatto Thomas a genitore satus,
Integer, et lætos inter conviva sodales
Ut redit ad proprios (sole cadente) lares,
Læthargo, et validi cogente cupidine somni,
Decubuit lecto, surgere nec valuit.
Sic vitæ instabilis cursus ; Mors imminet usque ;
Nec prece nec pretio parcere dura solet.
Hinc te mortalem genitum reminiscere, Lector :
Ut possis semper vivere, disce mori.”

1626. Margareta D. Willielmi Tufton, Militis et Baronet,
f., bapt. Apr. 22.

Agnes Walteri Champen, uxor, sep. July 9.

Thomas Haulti Wiatt, generosi, f., bapt. Oct. 15.

Elizabetha Haulti Wyatt, uxor, sep. Oct. 31.

Quilum viator subrufa barba, cerulea tunica, sep.

Nov. 23. (Alexander Charlton de Durham.)¹

1627. Thomas Haulti Wyat, f., sep. April 10.

Stephanus Beeching, paterfamilias, inebrietate
percussus, Detlinge, sep. May 26.

1628. Maria Johannis Brewer, Armigeri, f., sep. Aug. 4.

Elizabetha Johannis Brewer, Armigeri, uxor, sep.
Aug. 25.

Epitaphium Memoriale, G(eorge) C(ase) :

“ Religiosa Dei cultrix, generosa Brueri
Sub tumulo hoc conjux Elizabetha jacet ;

¹ He was apparently unknown at the time save by his *red beard* and *sky-blue dress*, his name being an after insertion.

Casta, pudica, pia, et naturæ dotibus aucta,
 Omnibus una animi dotibus aucta jacet.
 Quid dixi ? jacet hic ? jacet hac sub mole cadaver ;
 Divina meruit vivere parte Deo,
 Et vivit."

1628. Robertus Johannis Brewer, Armigeri, f., sep.
 Dec. 19.

1629. Matrimon. solemn. inter Thomam Cranmer &
 Mariam Becket, Jan. 20.

Thomas Friar de Leeds, sep. Dec. 2.

Winefreda Georgii Case, hujus ecclesiæ de Boxley
 vicarii, uxor, sepulta Jan 21. (Vitæ suæ 72, con-
 jugii 44.)

Cujus hæc fuerunt memoriales lachrimæ.

"Si qua fuit viva cœlari marmore digna
 Fœmina, si conjux conjuge digna bono,
 Tu mea, tu conjux Winefreda, es marmore digna,
 Dignaque quæ vivas pectore clausa meo.
 Nulla tuas superavit enim (si par fuit ulla)
 Virtutes animi, subsequitura fati.
 Nam Mariæ et Marthæ partes studiosa peregit,
 Quod pietatis opus, sedulitatis erat.
 Sæpe precata Deum, cui multas detulit horas,
 Pro verbo, et populi pace, precata Deum est.

(After some thirty more lines of Elegiacs, he closes thus :)

Vive Deo, terris indignior amplius hospes,
 Inter Cœlicolas annumerata, Vale."

1630. Johannes Vicary, sep. May 23.

Katerina Thomæ Fletcher uxor, sep. Dec. 26.

"Nec non digna meis Katerina notanda Camœnis
 Fletcheri conjux officiosa venis.
 Utilis obstitrix, miserisque creata ferendum
 Auxilium, fractis cruribus atque manu.
 Ob quæ tam Christo tot tantaque præstita facta ;
 Cum Christo in cœlis gloria parta fide est."

Joanna Vicary, vidua, sep. Nov. 29.

1631. Anna Hauti Wyatt f., bapt. Feb. 19.
 Anna, ejusdem Hauti Wyatt uxor, sep. Feb. ult.
 "Mitis, et ingenua, ac pia mater, sedula nutrix,
 Wyatti hic conjux officiosa jacet,
 Casta puerperio sic functa est munere vitæ,
 Parte sed in cœlis jam meliore viget."
- Matrimon. solemn. inter Richardum Gouldsmith &
 Dionisiam Vicarye, April 9.
1632. Georgius Case, *nuper hujus ecclesiæ Pastor
 vigilantissimus*, sepultus, July 29.
 Anno ætatis suæ 72, Residentiæ 42.
- (The poetic frenzy seems to have raged to the last. At the end of the Register appear some Latin verses written by him as his Epitaph for his own tomb.)
- Georgii Case, hujus Boxlæ ecclesiæ pastoris hoc
 suo tumultu suspensa tabula Epitaphium a se (dum viveret)
 conscriptum appendi curavit.
- "Caus in occasum versus jam vivere mundo
 Desinit, atque cupit vivere (Christe) tibi,
 Non ego delitias mundi, non gaudia sensi :
 Immundus mundus dura noverca fuit.
 Tu tamen interea merces mihi (Christe) laborans,
 Tu vitæ ductor, tu mihi fautor eras ;
 A te dependi materna parvulus alvo,
 Ad te jam red-o, tu mihi dexter ades.
 Septies hic denos totidem qui conferet annos
 Te docui ; nunc te gestio (Christe) frui."
- Georgius Case, propria manu scripsi.
1633. Elizabetha Gulielmi Champnesse,¹ f., bapt. Apr. 22.
 Matrimon. solemn. inter. Gulielmum Hartropp &
 Saram Geary, June 11.
1634. Henricus M'ri Gulielmi et Eliz. Maddox, f., bapt.
 Aug. 19.
1635. Elizabeth, f. Gulielmi & Eliz. Chapnes, bapt.
 May 24.
 Walterus Walteri et Annis Champnes, sep. Sept. 2.

¹ The Champneys family lived for several generations at Vinter's. Page 112.

1636. Margaret Willielmi & Elve Madockes, gen., bapt.
March 1.
Wilhelmus D'i Francisci Wiat, militis, et D'næ
Margaretæ, uxoris, sep. March 24.
1637. Lucia Nicholai Crispe, gen., uxoris, filia Thomæ et
Luciæ Henman, gen., sep. Apl. 13.
Jacobus et Benjamin Nicholai & Johannæ Madocke,
bapt. June 11.
Maria, uxor Henrici Newman, filia Hugonis et
Doritheæ Fletcher, sep. Aug. 20.
Georgius Wiat, Domini Francisci Wiat, Militis, &
Margaretæ, uxoris, f., sep. Oct. 12.
Elizabetha, f. Magistri Gulielmi et Elizabethæ
Maddox, bapt. Mar. 12.
1638. Thomas Newman, Senex, sep. Apr. 6.
Mr. Haute Wyatt, Vicarius hujus parochiæ, et
f. M'ri Georgii Wyatt, sepultus fuit Aug. 1.
Johannes, f. Johannis & Ciciliæ Freebodye,
generosi, bapt. Oct. 13.
Johannes Prouse, generosus, sep. Nov. 19.
Robertus, f. Nicholai Crispe, generosi, bapt. Feb. 17.
Benjamin, f. Nicholai Maddock, sep. March 19.
1639. Isabella, f. Gulielmi Maddock, generosi, bapt.
Apr. 8.
1640. Maria, f. Johannis Zachariæ, Minister tunc
temporis ibidem, bapt. Jan 5.
1641. Maria, f. Nicolai Crispe, generosi, bapt. Mar. 2,
sep. Apr. 15.
John Baker de Weavering, sep. Sept. 12.
1642. Selbius, f. Nicolai Cripse, bapt Oct. 16.
1643. Rodolphus Covertus, f. Rodolphi Covert, bapt.
March 25.

1643. Margareta, f. D. Henrici Grimeston, militis, sep.
Aug. 29.
Dorothea, f., Nicolai Cripse, bapt. Nov. 29.
Georgius Sandys,¹ *Poetorum Anglorum sui seculi
facile princeps*, sep. Martii 7.
1644. Domina Wyat,² sep. Martii 27.
Issabella, f. Henrici Grimston, Equitis, sep. July 6.
Franciscus Wiat, Miles, sep. Aug. 24.
1645. Henricus Grimston, Miles, Sep. 25.³
1646. Jedediah Haynes,⁴ f. M^ri Thomæ Haynes,⁵ Precatoris Divini Verbi, de Boxley, sep. April 6.
Sarah Haynes,⁴ f. Thomæ & Sarah Haynes, Ministri, 2do anno, bapt. Aug. 21.
1648. Mr. Edmund Austin & Mrs. Maria Sylam, matrimonio conjuncti, May 22.
1649. Georgius Charlton, f., Georgii et Jane Charlton, bapt. March 14.
1656. Willielmus Georgii & Anne Champnise (*sic.*) f., bapt. Mar. 5.
1660. Georgius Georgii Champnise, bapt. Apr. 20.
1662. Henricus Georgii Champnesse et Anne, f., bapt. Dec. 3.
1663. Dorcas Ongley,⁶ Vidua, sep. Dec. 30.
1663. Matrimonium solemnizatum inter Johannem Boon & Anam, uxor ejus (*sic.*) Feb. 27.
1664. Maria Georgii & Anne Champnesse, f., bapt. Apr. 3.

¹ See pages 125, 149.

² Jane, widow of George Wyat, Esq.

³ See page 120.

⁴ These entries are repeated. Great irregularity in the entries from 1644-72.

⁵ Intruded into the Vicarage in 1644. See page 94.

⁶ The Ongley family succeeded the Tuftons at Vinter's. See page 5.

1667. Ame Georgii & Anne Champnesse, f., Sept. 2.
1673. John Charlton, buried Nov. 29.
Joseph Charlton, buried March 17.
1674. Jane, d. of Thomas & Frances Silyard,¹ bapt.
March 26.
Sarah, wife of Thomas Haynes, buried Sept. 21.
John Whatman, buried March 5.
1676. Elizabeth, d. of Zaretan² and Mary Crofton, bapt.
Sept. 17; buried Jan. 21.
1677. Maria, d. of Edwin and Frances Wiat, of Maid-
stone, sep. Aug. 1.
Elizabeth, d. of Thomas & Frances Syliard, bapt.
Sept. 20.

With the close of the first Register the more ordinary form of entry commences. The Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials are arranged under their respective heads, and are so given here. The metrical outpourings which marked the incumbency of George Case, and the somewhat sensational entries which followed, have disappeared, giving place to the most matter-of-fact records of the different events. The paucity of Marriages, however, during the three quarters of a Century between 1678 and 1753, the period comprised within the second Register, is very remarkable. There were only 97 recorded in all that interval as having taken place in Boxley Church, and of these 33 were by Licence, of which the Licence Register at Canterbury explains that several were merely "husband-

¹ Sir Thomas Seyliard, by virtue of his marriage with Frances Bosville, whose mother, Elizabeth, was daughter of Dame Jane Wiat, the widow of Sir Thomas Wiat the Younger, succeeded to the Abbey House Estate. Page 10.

² Zaretan Crofton was at this time Curate, in which character his name appeared at the foot of each page of the Registers.

men," while a few belonged to that now apparently extinct yet honoured class of "Yeomen." This will account for the very small number of entries it has been thought desirable to extract under the head of Marriages.

BAPTISMS.

1678. Aug. 22, George, s. of George Charlton and Elizabeth uxor.
Aug. 25, Sarah, d. of Zaretan Crofton and Mary uxor.
Feb. 27, Elizabeth, d. of Mr. John Wise & Elizabeth uxor.
1679. Sept. 3, Eleanora, d. of Sir Thomas Seyliard & Frances uxor.
1680. Aug. 4, James, s. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth uxor.
Dec. 28, James, s. of Mr. John Wise & Elizabeth uxor.
1681. Nov. 23, John, s. of Sir Thomas Seyliard & Frances uxor.
1683. Feb. 19, Elizabeth, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
1684. May 9, Elizabeth, d. of Mr. John Wise & Elizabeth his wife.
1685. May 22, Mary, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
1686. May 7, Ann, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
June 14, Sarah, d. of Capt. Gasper Hicks & Judith his wife.
1687. Sept. 30, George, s. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
1687. Oct. 16, Gasper, s. of Capt. Gasper Hicks & Judith his wife.

1688. Oct. 7, Jane, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
1689. Sept. 20, George, s. of Mr. George Charlton & Eliz. his wife.
1690. Sept. 4, Philadelphia, d. Sir Thomas Selyard & Margaret his wife.
Dec. 19, Elizabeth, d. of Daniel Whyte,¹ Esq., & Ann his wife.
1691. Aug. 2, Christian, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
1692. Aug. 18, Ann, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
1693. Nov. 11, Thomas, s. of Sir Thomas Taylor² & Alicia his wife.
Feb. 24, James, s. of Mr. James Sherborne & Jane his wife.
Nov. 13, John, s. of Mr. George Charlton and Elizabeth his wife.
1695. Jan. 15, George, s. of Mr. George Charlton and Elizabeth his wife.
March 3, Christian, d. of Mr. John Wyvell (Vicar of Boxly)³ & Christian his wife.
1696. July 6, Elizabeth, d. of Sir Thomas Sylyard, Baronet, & Dame Eliz. his wife.
March 9, Meric, s. of Mr. Theophilus D. Langle, & Eliz. his wife.
1697. July 25, Jane, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Eliz. his wife.

¹ Mr. Daniel White bought Vinter's of Sir Charles Tufton (see pp. 5, 112).

² Sir Thomas Taylor purchased Park House (Maidstone) of the Brewer family.

³ Became Vicar in 1690 (see page 94).

1697. Aug. 18, Elizabeth, d. of Mr. Charles Jermyn & Anne his wife.
Oct. 28, Margaret, d. of Sir Thomas Syliard & Dame Elizabeth his wife.
1698. Nov. 8, Jane, d. of Geo. Charlton, Gent., & Elizabeth his wife.
Jan. 27, Elizabeth, d. of Sir Thomas Syliard, Bart., & Dame Elizabeth his wife.
1700. July 25, John, s. of Sir Tho. Syliard, Bart., & Dame Elizabeth his wife.
Nov. 11, Priscilla, d. of Capt. George Robinson & Phoebe his wife.
1701. Aug. 1, Margaret, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Eliz. his wife.
Dec. 11, George, s. of Capt. George Robinson & Phoebe his wife.
1702. Feb. 23, Philadelphia, d. of Daniel White, Esq., & Anne his wife.
1703. Oct. 8, Laurentia, d. of Mr. George Charlton & Eliz. his wife.
1704. Feb. 7, Thomas, s. of John Swinnock & Elizabeth his wife.
1705. June 8, Sharlott (*sic.*), d. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
1708. Nov. 17, Priscilla, d. of Daniel White, Esq., & Ann his wife.
1709. Dec. 10, Thomas, s. of Daniel White, Esq., & Ann his wife.
1716. Sept. 9, Josiah, s. of Josiah and Mary Pearson, of St. Martin's le Grand.
1718. June 11, William, s. of John and Mary Hall, of West Walton, in Norfolk.

1726. Apr. 1, George, s. of Mr. Peter Burvill & Ann his wife.
Oct. 27, Dorothy-Sarah, d. of Mr. Mawdistly and Elizabeth Best.
1731. July 26, Eliza, d. of Mr. Peter & Mrs. Anne Burvill.
1732. Nov. 14, Henry, s. of Mr. Peter & Mrs. Anne Burvill.
1733. June 10, James, s. of Thomas & Ann Burvell.
1741. Aug. 25, James, s. of Mr. James Whatman & Anne his wife.
1742. Apr. 21, William, sirnamed Kent, a negroe, born in Guinea, aged 19 years.
1743. June 15, Frances, d. of William Champneis, Esq., & Hannah his wife.
1744. Oct. 8, William, s. of Mr. James Whatman & Anne his wife.
Feb. 23, Harriot, d. of William Champneis, Esq., & Hannah his wife.
1747. Aug. 24, Elizabeth, d. of Mr. James Whatman & Anne his wife.
1748. June 26, William, s. of William Lynde & Elizabeth his wife.
1753. Nov. 22, Thomas, s. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
1755. Jan. 10, James, s. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
Aug. 3, Juliana, d. of George Burvill,¹ Cl., & Juliana his wife.
1756. Jan. 30, Frances, d. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
1757. Jan. 20, Frances, d. of George Burvill, Clerk, & Juliana his wife.

¹ He was Curate of Boxley from 1757 to 1775 (see page 98).

1757. May 27, Sarah, d. of Robert Polhill, Clerk, & Melescent his wife.
June 27, Richard, s. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
1758. Jan. 29, John, s. of George Burvill, Clerk, & Juliana his wife.
Sept. 28, Melescent, d. of Robert Polhill, Clerc, & Melescent his wife.
Oct. 26, John, s. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
1759. Feb. 24, Ann, d. of George Burvill, Clerc, & Juliana his wife.
Nov. 20, George, s. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
Dec. 22, Charlotte, d. of George Burvill, Clerk, & Juliana his wife.
1760. Nov. 19, Frances, d. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
1762. Feb. 8, Dorothy, d. of James Best, Esq., & Frances his wife.
1764. Apr. 23, Ann, d. of James Whatman, Esq., & Sarah his wife.
1765. June 30, Susanna, d. of William & Mary Burvill.
1766. Aug. 2, George, s. of George Burvill, Clerk, & Juliana his wife.
Dec. 28, William, s. of William & Mary Burvill.
1768. Oct. 2, James, s. of William & Mary Burvill.
1771. Aug. 25, Camilla, d. of James Whatman, Esq., & Sarah his wife.
1773. Aug. 20, John Alexander, s. of John & Elizabeth Keutenius.
1774. March 1, Lætitia-Philippa, d. of James Whatman, Esq., & Sarah his wife.

1775. Nov. 10, John, s. of John & Elizabeth Keutenius.
1777. May 5, John, s. of William Nance, Clerk, & Lydia Catharine his wife.
 Aug. 24, Augustus Selwyn, s. of Charles & Louisa Villiers.
 Oct. 11, James, son of James Whatman, Esq., & Susannah his wife.
1778. July 28, Lydia Catharine, d. of William Nance,¹ Clerk, & Lydia Catharine his wife.
- Here occurs the following note: "Thus far this Book was used, till the Duty on Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials took place, namely Oct. 2, 1783. (Robert Parsons, Curate.)"
1786. Oct. 5, Elizabeth Charlotte, d. of Thomas Best, Esq., & Elizabeth his wife.
1790. Apr. 10, Henry Roddam, s. of Sir Henry Calder,² Baronet, & Dame Louisa his wife.
1792. Feb. 15, Dorothy, d. of Thomas Best, Esq., & Elizabeth his wife.
1798. Aug. 26, Thomas Edward, s. of Thomas Osborne, Esq., & Caroline his wife.
 Nov. 8, Frances, d. of Thomas Hollingworth, Gent.
1799. Apr. 28, Thirza, d. of Abel Roots and Bet his wife.
1801. Nov. 6, Mary Philippa, d. of the Rev. Robert & Maria Affleck.
1802. May 27, Michael Elijah (posthumous), s. of Michael Impey,³ Esq., and Henrietta Matilda Impey.
1803. Dec. 26, Francis Henry Stoddart, s. of the Rev. Henry Morgan Say⁴ & Marianne his wife.

¹ Vicar from 1774 to 1780.

² Of Park House (Maidstone).

³ The eldest brother of Sir Elijah Impey, the future Chief Justice of Bengal, and the close personal friend of Warren Hastings.

⁴ Curate of Boxley from 1802 to 1805.

- 1804. Sept. 25, Thomas, s. of Thomas Robert Hollingworth, Esq., & Elizabeth his wife.
- 1805. March 29, Henry Hirst, s. of the Rev. Henry M. Say & Marianne his wife.
- 1806. Apr. 19, John, s. of Thomas Robert Hollingworth Esq., & Elizabeth his wife.
- 1807. Oct. 3, Elizabeth, d. of Thomas Robert Hollingworth, Esq., & Elizabeth his wife.
- 1808. Dec. 15, Frances Ann, d. of Thomas Robert & Elizabeth Hollingworth.

MARRIAGES BY LICENCE.¹

- 1678. July 9, William Whatman & Ann Miller.
- 1686. March 30, Thomas Walcup, of Canterbury, Widower,
& Grace Ellis.
Aug. 3, Mr. Thomas Handfield and Mrs. Elizabeth Salmon.
- 1689. Apr. 2, Thomas Adams, Jr. (of Maidstone), Widower,
& Frances Dawson.
Apr. 2, Robert Jefferies and Sarah Masters.
- 1691. March 26, William Medhurst & Rebecca Hadlow.
Dec. 18, Barnabas French, widower, of Maidstone,
& Martha Floyd, Widow.
- 1692. Oct. 11, Cornelius Hilden & Sarah Fraughton.
Dec. 8, John Beal & Ann Gosling.
- 1694. July 12, Rev. John Wyvell, Vicar (of the
Precincts of the Cathedral Church of Roches-
ter), & Christian Charlton (of Boxley).
Sept 2, John Hammond and Martha Lister.

¹ Any insertions for which the Author is indebted to the Diocesan Register of Licences will appear in parentheses ().

1694. Oct. 9th, James Ffoster, Widower, and Elizabeth Golding.
1696. March 17, James Finch (de Hertford, gen.) & Abigail Macham (of Thamstreete, London, Spinster).
1697. Oct. 14, Edward Sharly and Elizabeth Wallace.
1698. May 6. Daniel Paramore, of Newington (Yeoman), & Sarah Lake, of Milton.
June 9, James Wingate & Elizabeth Osmore.
1700. July 9, Henry Hony, of Itham, (Yeoman), & Jane Creed.
Nov. 7th John Dames & Dorothy Godden.
1702. Apr. 12, Edward Charlton, of Hollingbourne, Widower, and Elizabeth Munn, of Boxley, Widder.
1703. Aug. 1, David Pattenden (of Boxley, Yeoman), Widower, & Elizabeth Smith, Widow.
Sept. 5, Richard Wenbourne (of Westfarley, Bachelor) & Anne Jobson (of Maidstone, Spinster).
1704. Oct. 10, Charles Alexander & Elizabeth Smith.
1706. June 18, William Barnsly & Elizabeth Firmer.
1707. Feb. 18, Thomas Munn & Susanna Norton, both of East Farleigh.
1709. Feb. 10, Richard Dormer & Ann Wilson, of West Peckham.
1720. William Thorold,¹ M.D., of Uxbridge, Widower, & Mary Charlton.
Sept. 20, Augustin Nelson, of Woolwich, and Christian Idon.

¹ Dr. Thorold lived in "Treaty House," Uxbridge, (Lyson's *Environs, &c.*, Supplement, under "Hillingdon,") the scene of the abortive attempt at a Treaty between the Commissioners of King Charles and those of Parliament in 1644. (Clarendon's *Rebellion*, Oxford, 1843, p. 520.)

1730. May 18, John Geele and Mary Walker, maiden.
1739. July 26, William Goldsmith and Mary Pitcher.
1740. Nov. 26, John Pilcher of Town Sutton, and Sarah Waters, of East Sutton, Spinster.
1746. March 30, John Foster (Bachelor) & Judith Belcher (Spinster), both of Egerton.
1748. Jan. 9, John Field & Mary Leeds, both of Maidstone.
Oct. 9, Richard Holloway & Anne Athaws.
1768. Oct. 17, John Keutenius & Elizabeth Bourne.
1773. Dec. 13, Richard Elliston Philips, of Edinburgh, & Susanna Elizabeth Whatman.
1781. Nov. 13, The Rev. Peter Rashleigh,¹ Clerk, of Wouldham, and Frances Burvill.
1785. Jan. 9, William Twopeny, Jun., of Rochester, and Dorothy Best.
1790. June 18, Maurice Lloyd, of St. Peter's in the East, (Oxford) & Elizabeth Best.
1794. March 29, Sir Charles Style, of Wateringbury, Baronet, & Camilla Whatman, at Vinter's, by Special Licence.
1794. Sept. 24, The Rev. John Wood, of Herne, & Catherine Elizabeth Benson.
1796. May 30, Edward Baldock, of East Malling, & Catherine Oram.
June 14, Giles Hanwell, of St. Bennet-Fink, & Margaret Keutenius.
1798. Jan. 19, Samuel Bosanquet the Younger, of Layton, Essex, & Letitia Philippa Whatman; by Sir John Fagg, Bart., Vicar of Chislet, Kent.
1800. Aug. 14, Brook William Bridges, Bart., of Goodnestone, & Eleanor Foote.

¹ Rector of Wouldham, 1775—1788, and Vicar of Barking.

BURIALS.

1678. Aug. 27, George, s. of George & Elizabeth Charlton.
 Sept. 7, Henry, s. of Edmund (*sic.* ? Edwin), and
 Frances Wiatt.
 Sept. 24, Stephen Mitchell, Gent., of Stepney.
 Oct. 4, Elizabeth, wife of Daniell White, Esq.
 Nov. 1, Jane, wife of George Charlton, Senr.
1679. March 31, Susannah, d. of Thomas & Catherine
 Mitchell.
1680. Feb. 26, Mr. George Charlton, Senr.
 April 25, Elizabeth d. of Thomas and Catherine
 Mitchell.
1681. Jan. 14, Bridget Gngley, Wid.
 May 18, Mrs. Elizabeth Charlton, wife of Mr.
 George (Charlton).
 Nov. 25, John, s. of Sir Thomas Seyliard &
 Frances, uxor.
1682. Apr. 7, Alice Charlton, Wid.
1683. Aug. 31, Mr. George Yound, Householder.
1684. Jan. 23, William Smith, Parish Clarke.
1686. June 20, Sarah, d. of Captn. Gasper Hicks &
 Judeth his wife.
 August 11, Nicholas Sayer, a strainger, killed with
 a fall from a walnut-tree.
 March 3, Ann, daughter of Mr. George Charlton
 & Elizabeth his wife.
1687. Dec. 5, Dame Margaret Wiat (The widow of Sir
 Francis).
 Dec. 5, George, s. of Mr. George Charlton &
 Elizabeth his wife.
1689. May 22, Daniel White,¹ Esq., Householder.

¹ Of Vinters, (see pp. 5, 112).

1689. July 4, Mr. Robert Andrews, Citizen.
 Aug. , Mrs. Ann Charlton.
1690. Dec. 30, Amey, wife of George Champnes.
1691. May 2, *Ignotus quidam Peregrinus morte improvisa occupatus*.¹
 June 7, George, s. of Mr. George Charlton & Elizabeth his wife.
 Feb. 16, Thomas Wyat, Gen.
1692. Oct. 16, Robert Rowland, a stranger, stabbed into the eye with a pitch fork, of which wound he died.
1693. June 18, The Rev. Mr. Nath. Massey,² Curate.
1694. Jan. 7, Jane Charlton.
 July 28, John Charlton.
1696. July 6, Eliz., d. of Sr. Th. Syliard, Bt.
1697. Aug. 3, Jane, d. of Mr. George Charlton.
1698. Apr. 29, Mrs. Christian, wife of Mr. John Wyvell, Vicar.
 July 11, Mrs. Margaret, d. of Serjeant Wiet, (*sic.*).
1700. Aug. 16, Jane Wiet, (*sic.*), Gentlewoman.
1701. Sept. 23, Sr. John Syliard,³ Baronet.
1705. June 25, Mr. John Wise, from Maidstone.
1707. June 11, Mr. Edwin Wyatt, of Maidstone.
 Aug. 16, Mr. George Charlton.
1712. Jan. 19, Justinian Champneis,⁴ Esq.
1713. Apr. 8, Philadelphia, d. of Daniel White, Esq.
1714. July 13, Elizabeth, w. of . . . Ongley.
 Dec. 11, Edwin Wiat, Esq., Sergeant at Law.
1723. Feb. 1, Mrs. Christian Charlton.

¹ "An unknown stranger, who died suddenly."

² See page 119.

³ Of the Abbey.

⁴ A Monument in the Parish Church to his memory (see page 121).

1727. Apr. 14, Samuel Athaws, of Weaving.
Oct. 26, Mrs. Frances Wyat, Relict of Edwin
Wyat, Esq., Serjeant at Law.
1728. Mrs. Sarah Champneys Wife of Justinian Champ-
neis, Esq., of Vintners.
Oct. 20, Mrs. Elizabeth Best.
1729. Dec. 8, Mrs. Laurentia Charlton.
1732. Dec. 28, Dame Elizabeth Seyliard, Relict of Sir
Tho. Seyliard, Bart.
1734. June 29, Anne, wife of Mr. Peter Burvill.
1736. Jan. 20, Mawdistly, s. of Mawdistly Best, Esq., and
Eliz. his wife.
1739. Aug. 21, Francis Wiat, Esq.
1740. March 19, Elizabeth Burvell.
1743. Jan. 10, Mawdistly Best, Esq.
1745. Apr. 17, Christopher Clapham, Esq.
1746. Jan. 28, William Alexander.
1748. Apr. 23, Hannah Champneys.
May 22, Sackville Champneys.
Nov. 4, Elizabeth Wiat.
1750. May 23, Elizabeth Charlton.
1753. Dec. 31, Richard Wiat, Esq.
1754. Sept. 16, Justinian Champneys.¹
1757. Feb. 9, Ilse Maria Gerlengen (a Hanoverian).
Feb. 8, William Alexander.
Dec. 21, Mr. Samuel Athaws.
1758. Apr. 12, Frances Best (an infant).
1759. Dec. 18, Edward Roberts (aged 106).

¹ Of Osten- or Westen-hanger. The family Monument in the Parish Church states that he was "one of the five gentlemen styled the Kentish Petitioners" who signed the Petition at Maidstone in 1701 against the proceedings of Parliament, for which they were all imprisoned till the end of the Session.

- 1759. Dec. 26, Charlotte Burvill (an infant).
- 1763. Dec. 4, William Alexander.
- 1766. Aug. 4, George Burville (an infant).
 Aug. 5, William Champneys, Esq.
 Sept. 21, Susanna Burvill (an infant).
- 1768. Aug. 12, William Gore, Esq.
- 1770. March 28, Mary Gore.
 July 28, John Charlton, Esq.
- 1772. Jan. 28, Mrs. Sophia Champneys.
- 1777. July 8, Mrs. Juliana Burvill.
- 1781. Aug. 31, Henry Champneys, Esq.
- 1782. Feb. 7, James Best, Esq. (62 years).
- 1783. Aug. 28, a young man, named John Gorham,
 was hanged at Penenden Heath and interred
 in the Church yard at Boxley, for a high-way
 robbery.

(Here occurs the following entry, signed by Robert Parsons, Curate: "Thus far this book was used until the Duty on Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials took place, Oct. 2nd, 1783.")

- 1787. June 8, Martha, wife of Richard Best, Esq.
- 1791. Aug. 10, Charlotte Best.
- 1793. Feb. 17, Mary Burvill.
 Aug. 28, Charlotte Best.
 Sept. 25, James Best.
- 1795. Aug. 14, Mary, wife of Richard Best, of Chatham.
 John Burvill, Esq., son of the Reverend George
 Burvill, of this Parish, Clerk, and a Major in the
 Army, died of a fever in the Isle of St. Domingo,
 March 15.
- 1798. March 26, James Whatman, Esq.
 Oct. 5, Rev. George Burvill, Clerk (73 years).¹

¹ Monument in the Church (see page 124).

THE REGISTERS

- 1789. Jan. 13, Edward Stanley, Esq.
- 1800. March 7, Mrs. Frances Champ
- 1801. April 13, Richard Best, Esq.
- 1802. May 30, John Keutenius.
- 1807. Sept. 4, Peter Rashleigh, Esq.
- 1808. Nov. 7, Frances Best (76 years

¹ Monument in the Church (see page 124).



APPENDI

APPENDIX A. See Ps

The original entry in "Domesday Book contracted form (f. 8. 2, b.) :

"Rob't' Latin' ten' ad firma' Boscleu soldin' se def'b' T.R.E. Mo' pro v. solin. d'nio sunt iii. caruc' & xiv. vill' cu' xi. Ibi iii. molini de xxxv. sol' & viii. den' ac' p'ti. Silva l. porc'. T.R.E. et post valui lib & tam' Rob't' reddit lv. lib'. Arnold Ci tenet Helto dim' solin' et ibi h't i. car' cu' ur ii acr' p'ti & silva vi. porc'. val. xl. solid'."

LARKIN'S EXPANSIO

"Robertus Latinus tenet ad firmam BOSEL defendebat Tempore Regis Edwardi. Modo est xx carucarum. In dominio sunt ii villani cum xi bordariis habent xvi caruca xxxv solidis et viii denariis. Et xvi servi Silva l Porcorum. T.R.E. et post, valuit x libras: et tamen Robertus reddit lv libras. De hoc manerio tenet Helto dimidium s carucam, cum uno bordario. Et i franc. silvam vi porcorum. Et valet xl solidos."

APPENDIX B. See Page 7.

The voluminous Will of Stephen Mason, (Consistory Court, Canterbury, XXVIII., f. 53-75) extending over 22 folio sheets, shows him to have been a man of considerable substance, for it disposes of land in the Parishes of Bearsted and Detling, as well as Boxley, and valuable house-property in the City of London. He speaks also of a "Lordship" attached to the "Wavering Mansion." It will suffice for our purpose to make such extracts from his Will as bear upon Boxley. It runs thus:—

"In the name of God, Amen, the tenthe daye of November, in the yeere of Our Lord one thousande fyve hundrethe and fyfty seven, &c., &c.

"I, Stephen Mason, dwellinge in the Parishe of Boxley, in the County of Kent, and beinge a Citizen and Vintener of the Citie of London, beinge in hole mynde and remembrance, and in good and parfytte helthe of boddye, Laude and Prayse be unto Almightye God, do constitute, ordaine, and make thys my present Testament and last Will concerninge my goods moveable, in manner and fourme followinge: Firste, I bequethe my soul unto Almighty God my Savyoure and Redemer, trustinge to be saved by the sheddingge of hys precieuse bloude and passyon, and thereby to be an Inherytoure of the Kingdome of heaven; and to our blessed lady the Virgyn, and to all the holy company of heaven: and my boddye to be buried in the Paryshe Church Porche of Barstedd,¹ in the sayde County of Kent, neere unto my welbeloved wyffe Margarette Weasby, whereas also lyeth my father and mother, on whos soule Jesu have mercy.

"Item, I bequeth unto the highe aultar of the Paryshe Church of Boxley, for my tithes negligently forgotten and withholden

¹ On a panel in the East wall inside the South porch of Bearsted Church is the following Inscription: "Here lyethe Steven Mason, late Cytezen and Vyntner of London, and Margarete hys wyfe, whyche Margarete decyssed the xxiii. day of December anno 1552, and the sayd Steven the day of A.D. 15 . . . on whose soules IHU have mercy."

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iii. iiiid. Item, I bequeth to the repa
Churche, whereas yt hath muche nede, vis. v

(Then follow a few instructions connecte
which occurs the unusual word *hersewyndin*,
to the removal of the body from the house)

“ Item, I bequeth to Maister Roger Johane
Boxley, my longe blacke worsted goun, fu
my blacke single goun, furred with damas
soule. Item, I bequeth to Maister Thomas
Queen’s Surgion, dwellinge in London, a
cornelian stone in the same, with the letter
graven. (After this comes a string of bequ
of dress and furniture for different relatives :
his wife Anne he leaves a life interest i
“Wavering Streete” with the reversion of t
use of the Masters, Wardens, and Commor
and companye of Vintners, and their succe
received by them after the decease of the say

APPENDIX C. See Pa

The Summons issued by William the (
the Meeting at Pennenden Heath, as given
Vol. i., page 3 :

G(ullielmus) Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum
piscopo Cantuar(iensi), et G(osfrido) Epis
et R(icardo) Comiti de Ou et filio Comitis G
de Monteforti, suisque aliis proceribus regni .

¹ The word *wynde*, (now wend) to go ; *herse* near

² Variouslly spelt Johnes and Jones.

³ Lambskin, with the wool dressed outwards, oft
capes, &c. “Halliwall’s Dictionary of Archaic Wo

⁴ Commonly called Richard Fitz Gilbert, Count
and variously of *Ou*, or *Eu*.

“Summonete Vicecomites meos ex meo precepto, et ex parte mea eis dicite ut reddant Episcopatibus meis et Abbatiis totum dominium omnesque dominicas terras, quas de dominio Episcopatuum meorum et Abbatiarum Episcopi mei et Abbates eis vel lenitate, vel timore, vel cupiditate dederunt, vel habere consenserunt, vel ipsi violentia sua inde abstraxerunt, et quas hactenus injuste possiderunt de dominio ecclesiarum mearum : et nisi reddiderint, sicut eos ex parte mea summonebitis, vos ipsos, velint nolint, constringite reddere.

“Quod si quilibet alius, vel aliquis vestrum, quibus hanc justiciam imposui, ejusdem querere fuerit, reddat similiter, quod de dominio Episcopatuum vel Abbatiarum mearum habuit : ne propter illud quod inde aliquis vestrum habebit, minus exerceat super meos Vicecomites vel alios, quicumque teneant dominium ecclesiarum mearum, quod precipio.”

APPENDIX CA. See age 15.

EADMER thus describes the arrival and action of LANFRANC, *Historia*, (1623), pp. 6, 9 :

“In hujus regni anno quinto LANFRANCUS Cadomensis Cœnobii Abbas, vir strenuus et in divinis atque humanis rebus excellenti scientia preditus, Angliam ex precepto Domini Pape Alexandri et predicti Regis advenit, et paulo post tempore Archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem regendum suscepit.”

“Consuetudines quas priscis temporibus Ecclesie Cantuariensi, ut liberrima in cunctis existeret, Regis Anglie sua munificentia contulerunt, et stabiles in perpetuum manere sacratissima sanctione constituerunt, quorundam imprudentia perditas, sua prudentia recuperavit. Odo, siquidem Episcopus Baiocensis, frater Regis Willielmi, et Cantie Comes, priusquam Lanfrancus Angliam intrasset, magnus et prepotens per totum regnum habebatur. Hic dominatione qua immensum sustollebatur, non

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modo terras sed libertatem nominate ecclesie multipliciter invaserat, oppresserat, tenel francus, ut erant, didicit, apud Regem de il sciebat. Unde precepit Rex, quatenus a probis viris non solum de Comitatu Car Comitatibus Anglie, querele Lanfranci in examinarentur, determinarentur. Disposit DENE Principum conventu, Goffridus (*sic*) tiensis, vir ea tempestate predives in Lanfranco Justitiam, in suis querelis stren fecit. Lanfrancus enim valida ratione su omnium astipulatione et judicio, ibi cu ostensa sunt antiquitus ad jura Ecclesie pertinuisse, tam in terris quam in diversis :

APPENDIX D.² See Pa

The following is a careful transcript of the Rochester Register, made by the Auth added the various deviations made in the

S.E. Selden's *Notes to Eadmeri Histor*
A.S. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i., p. 33
R.R. Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, p. 2

"REGISTRUM TEMPORALIUM E ROFFENSIIUM.

"Undecimo Quaterno, f. 1, p

"Quomodo LANFRANCUS, Archiepiscopus
Cantuariensium et Roffensium dir

¹ A translation of the entire document, as found in given in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, ii., 127.

² In this and all subsequent extracts, when taken selves, the author has adopted the simple *e* of the originals, but when copied from printed sources he h

"Tempore Magni Regis WILLIELMI, qui Anglicum regnum armis conquisivit, et suis ditionibus subjugavit, contigit ODONEM, Baiocensem Episcopum, et ejusdem Regis fratrem, multo citius quam Lanfrancum Archiepiscopum in Angliam venire, atque in Comitatu de Kent cum magna potentia residere; ibique potestatem non modicam exercere; et quia illis diebus in Comitatu illo quisquam non erat qui tante fortitudinis viro resistere posset, propter magnam, quam habet, potestatem, terras quam complures de Archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi,¹ et Episcopatu Roucestrie,² et consuetudines nonnullas sibi arripuit,³ atque usurpans sue Dominacioni ascripsit. Postea vero non multo tempore contigit prefatum LANFRANCUM, Cadomensis Ecclesie Abbatem, jussu Regis, in Angliam quoque venire, atque in Archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem, Domino disponente, totius Anglie regni Primatem sullumatum esse: Ubi dum aliquamdiu resideret, et antiquas Ecclesie sue terras multas sibi deesse inveniret, et suorum negligentia antecessorum illas distributas atque distractas fuisse reperisset, diligenter inquisita et bene cognita veritate, Regem quam citius potuit, et non pigre,⁴ inde requisivit. Precepit ergo Rex Comitatum totum absque mora considerare et homines Comitatus omnes Francigenas et precipue Anglos in antiquis legibus et consuetudinibus peritos, in unum convenire. Qui cum conveniunt apud PYNINDENAM⁵ omnes pariter considerunt.

"Et quoniam multa placita de diratiocinationibus terrarum et verba de consuetudinibus legum inter Archiepiscopum et predictum Baiocensem Episcopum ibi surrexerunt, et etiam inter consuetudines Regales et Archiepiscopales, que prima die expediri non potuerunt, ea causa, totus Comitatus per tres dies fuit ibi detentus. In illis tribus diebus diratiocinavit ibi LANFRANCUS Archiepiscopus,

¹ "Cantuarburie" for "Cantuariensis" passim, S.E., A.S., & R.R.

² "et Episcopatu Rovcestrie," omitted in R.R., S.E., A.S.

³ "corripuit." R.R.

⁴ "impigre." A.S.

⁵ "Pinendenam." S.E., A.S., R.R.

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plures terras quas tunc ipse Episcopus et 1
 viz., Herebertus filius Yvonis, Tuoldus de
 de Curva-Spina, Hugo de Monte-Forti,²
 tudinibus et rebus que ad easdem terras
 RECVLVRE (Reculver), SANDWYCS (Sandwi-
 borough), WODETUNE (Wootton),⁴ Mona
 (Liminge), cum terris et consuetudinibus et
 pertinentibus, SALTWODE (Saltwood) cum B
 Saltwode pertinente, LANGPORT, NEWE
 ROKYNGE (Rucking), DETLYNGE, PRESTETU
 HERSTE (Sandhurst), BROCHE (Brooke), EAI
 TONE (Orpington), EYNESFORD (Eynsford),
 NYWENTONE (Newington), STOKES (Stoke),
 ington). In Suthreia, favente Rege W
 ipse Archiepiscopus MURTELAKE (Mortlake
 terium Sancte Marie, cum terris et do
 Presbyter et Uxor illius habuerunt: In
 (Harrow), HEYSAM (Hayes): Bogynhar
 (Monk's Risborough), HALTUNE (Halton)
 NYWENTONE (Newington): In Eastsexe, S
 Suthfolchia, FRAKENHAM (Great Falkenham
 Radulphum de Curva-Spina, lx. solidatas
 (Isle of Grain). Et omnes illas terras et al
 omnibus consuetudinibus et rebus que ad
 bant,⁷ ita liberas atque quietas, quod in illa
 finitum fuit non remansit homo in toto re

¹ tenuerunt homines ipsius Episcopi. R.R.

² et alii plures de hominibus suis. R.R.

³ From "scilicet" to "Falkenham," omitted.

⁴ Wedetune. S.E.

⁵ "insulam" inserted in A.S.

⁶ "cum omnibus" to "pertinebant," omitted in

⁷ Super ipsum Baiocensem Episcopum, et super
 illius, et alios, scilicet, Detliuges, Estoces, et mul
 inserted in A.S. & R.R., not in original MS.

inde calumpniaretur neque super ipsas terras etiam parvum quicquam Clamaret. STOKES¹ vero et DENYNTUNE et FRAKENHAM reddidit Ecclesie Sancti Andree, quia de jure ipsius Ecclesie antiquitus fuerunt.¹ Et in eodem placito non solum istas prenominate et alias terras sed et omnes libertates Ecclesie sue, et omnes Consuetudines suas² renovavit, et renovatas ibi diratiocinavit, Soca, Saca, Toll, Team, Flemeneshrenith,³ Grithbreche, Forstall, Haimfare,⁴ Infangenetheof, cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus, paribus istis, vel minoribus istis, in terris, et in aquis, in sylvis, in viis, et in pratis, et in omnibus aliis rebus infra Civitatem et extra, infra Burgum et extra, et in omnibus aliis locis. Et ab omnibus⁵ probis et sapientibus hominibus qui affuerunt fuit ibi diratiocinatum, et etiam a toto Comitatu recordatum⁶ atque judicatum,⁷ quod sicut ipse Rex tenet suas terras liberas et quietas in suo Dominico, ita⁸ Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis tenent suas terras omnino liberas et quietas in suo Dominico.

“Huic Placito interfuerunt GOISFRIDUS, Episcopus Constantiensis, qui in loco Regis fuit, et justiciam illam tenuit; LANFRANCUS, Archiepiscopus, qui, ut dictum est, placitavit, et totum diratiocinavit; COMES KANTIE, videlicet predictus ODO, Baiocensis Episcopus; ERNOSTUS, Episcopus Roucestria; ÆTHELRICUS,⁹ Episcopus de Cicestria, vir antiquissimus et legum terre sapientissimus, qui ex precepto Regis advectus fuit, ad ipsas antiquas legum consuetudines discutiendas et edocendas, in una quadriga; RICARDUS, de Tonebregge;¹⁰ Hugo, de Monte-Forti;

¹ From “Stokes” to “fuerunt,” omitted in A.S.

² “et omnes consuetudines suas,” omitted in R.R.

³ “flymene, fyrmthe.” S.E. & R.R. ⁴ “Hanufare.” S.E.

⁵ “illis,” added. A.S. & R.R.

⁶ “Concordatum.” A.S. & R.R. ⁷ “indicatum.” S.E.

⁸ “ita,” omitted. R.R.

⁹ The name is erroneously given ÆGELRICUS, even in Ernulph's MS., evidently from a misconception of the Saxon letter TH, which somewhat resembles G, an error which appears in S.E., A.S., and R.R.

¹⁰ “Tunebregge,” in S.E.

.



quidem totam, et extra aut totam aut dimidiam emendationem Habet etiam in eisdem terris omnibus quecunque ad curam et salutem animarum videntur pertinere.

"Hujus Placiti multis testibus multisque rationibus determinatum finem postquam Rex audivit, laudavit; laudans cum consensu omnium Principum suorum confirmavit, et ut deinceps incorruptus perseveraret, firmiter præcepit. Quod propterea scriptum est hic, ut et in future in eternum memorie proficiat, et ipsi futuri ejusdem Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis successores sciant, que et quanta in dignitatibus ipsius Ecclesie a Deo tenere, atque a Regibus et Principibus hujus regni eterno jure debeant exigere.

"Acta sunt hec anno Domini millesimo septuagesimo sexto."¹

APPENDIX E. See Page 23, n.

A MS. leaf of an ancient Record, discovered among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., and printed in his work entitled "*Domesday Book*" (pages 293-6), evidently formed part of a full account of this memorable Trial, and is added here, as containing some more minute details, and some distinct items, which are not in the Rochester Record.

"Fulchestan de beneficio Regis est.

"Rateboure de Archiepiscopatu est; et Edzinus² dedit Goduino.

"Stepeberga de Archiepiscopatu est, et Ecclesia Christi erat inde saisita quando Rex mare transivit, modo Episcopus Baiocensis habet.

"In Tilemanestun q R. m. t.³ erat Ecclesia Christi saisita de

¹ This last line is also omitted in the Cottonian MS., from which, probably, Selden, and all the others, copied, without consulting the original Rochester Register, in which the date is thus expressly given.

² Edzinus, or Eadsige, was Abp. 1038-50.

³ q. R. m. t. for "quando Rex mare transivit"—when the King crossed over the sea.

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- ducentis jugeribus terræ, et in Fe
jugeribus, et in Elme de viginti quinq
ea Osbernus ab Episcopo¹ tenet.
- “Totesham Alnod Child de monachis ter
firmam inde reddebat, et modo Episcop
- “Torentum viginti quinque jugera habet
q. R. m. t., et modo Episcopus habebat
- “Witriscosham Ecclesia Christi habebat
Osbernus paisforere ab Episcopo habet.
- “Awentingsgesherst & Edruneland, & A
tenebat q. R. m, t., et firmam inde hab
de Romenel ab Episcopo habet.
- “Prestitun Alnod Child ab Archiepiscopo
firmam reddebat, et modo Tuoldus ab
- “Godricus Decanus dedit fratri suo quarta
pertinebat ad Clivam. et modo Robertu
habet.
- “Sunderhirsc de Archiepiscopatu est, et
Goduino, et Episcopus modo habet.
- “Langport & Newenden de Archiepiscopatu
dedit Goduino, et Episcopus statim in p
Ecclesia.
- “Saltoda de Archiepiscopatu est, et Archiep
& modo Hugo de dono Regis habet.
- “Fecit Archiepiscopus Lanfranchus alios clan
et super Hugonem ; sed in hundretis de
- “Pimpe et Chintun, et Westaldingis Adaldi
tenebat, et modo Richardus habet.
- “Penesherst de Archiepiscopatu est, & A
q. R. m. t., et censum et firmam inde h
- “Tercium denarium de comitatu Archiepisco
fuit habuit. Tempore Edzini Rex Edv

¹ Episcopus always refers to Odo, Bishop of Baies

Terras omnes quæ pertinent ad Archiepiscopatum et ad Abbatiam sancti Augustini; et terras comitis Goduini, testati sunt esse liberas ab omni consuetudine regia, præter antiquas vias quæ vadunt de civitate in civitatem, et de mercato ad mercatum, et de portu maris ad alium portum.

“De illa calumnia quam Episcopus Odo fecit de pratis Archiepiscopi et Sancti Augustini, judicaverunt omnes quod in justicia haberet, et prata utriusque ecclesiæ sicut ceteræ terræ libera esse deberent

“Terra Goduini damæ ad ecclesiam Sancti Augustini pertinet, et q. R. m. t. ecclesia de terra illa servicium habebat, et modo Hugo de dono regis habet.

The MS. bears this endorsement in a different handwriting:—

“Quod Archiepiscopus antiquitus habebat tercium denarium de comitatu Cantie, & hoc jure ipsius esse debet.

“Scriptum de terris quas antiquitus habuit Cantuariensis Ecclesia.”

APPENDIX F. See Page 42, n. 43.

Patent Rolls, 15 Edward II. Pt. i., m. 11. (1321.)

Pro. Aldermannis et Civibus London'.

“Rex dilectis sibi Aldermannis Vicecomitibus, Civibus, et Communitati Civitatis sue London, salutem. Cum nuper de gratia nostra speciali replegiavimus vobis, prefati Aldermanni et Cives, officium Majoritatis Civitatis illius, usque ad quindenam S'ti Michaelis proxime preteritam quod quidem officium prius coram Justiciariis nostris itinerantibus apud Turrin, London', quibusdam de causis captum fuit in manum nostram et nominacionem per vos, predicti Aldermanni et Cives, nobis factam de Hamone de Chigwell,¹ Cive Civitatis predicte, pro dicto officio per tempus predictum regendo

¹ This Hamo Chigwell (Hamond Chickwell) was evidently, like John Gilpin, “a Citizen of credit and renown,” for he was Mayor of London in 1321, 1322, 1324, 1325, and 1327.

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acceptaverimus, sacramentumque receperimus et ei custodiam Civitatis predictæ habendum predicta fecerimus liberari, et idem Hamo Civitatis predictæ sic habuerit usque modo presenti; Nos volentes vobis uberiores et parte concessimus vobis quod aliquem Civem et utilem pro nobis et populo nostro Civitatis et regimen ejusdem Civitatis nominare pro nostram habendum, et ipsum nobis ad Scaccarium presentare ad sacramentum nobis in hac parte faciendum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod de vobis nominatis et ad dictum Scaccarium predicta.

“Teste Rege apud Boxle xxv., die

“Per breve de privato sigillo; et mandatum Thesaurie et Baronibus de Scaccario quod ipsi Thesaurarius, Vicecomites, Cives et Communitas predictam Civitatem ad dictum Scaccarium presentaverint, sicut per nos nomine Regis admittent, et ab ipse sacramentum Teste ut supra.”

APPENDIX F. A. See F.

Richard, Bishop of Rochester, grants Stoke Newington Abbey.

“Universis Christi fidelibus, &c. Ricardus Ep. Salutem, &c. Ad universitatis vestre pervenire quod nos intuitu Dei et hospitalis quod pervenire passim et sine dilectu, personaliter exhibet domum confluentibus, de voluntate & concedimus & concessimus Abbati & Conventui parochialem de Stokes, cum omnibus ad perpetuo in proprios usus possidendam, &c.”

Confirmed by the Pope.

"Clemens Ep. Serv. Servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Abbati et Conventui Monasterii sancte Marie de Boxleya Cist. Ord. Cant. Dioc. Exhibita siquidem nobis vestra peticio continebat, quod bone memorie Ricardus Roffensis Episcopus, pie considerans quod in Monasterio vestro pro exercendo ibidem hospitalis officio, non erat sufficientia facultatum, ecclesiam de Stokes Roff.¹ Dioc. ad collacionem suam libere pertinentem, &c. Nos itaque vestris supplicationibus inclinati, &c., id auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, &c. Datum Viterbi iiii kal. Febr. pontif. nostri tercio anno."

APPENDIX G. See Page 44.

E Registro Temporalium Episcoporum Roffensium.

"Litera Attornati."

"Omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis, HUGO CUNDAVENA,² Comes S'ti Pauli, salutem, &c."

"Universitati vestre notum facio quod Ballivi mei, quos habeo in Anglia habentes warrantizam brevis mei, cum sigillo meo dependente, ut quicquid de tenementis meis facerent, ita stabile foret, ac si ego ipse fecissem, fecerunt quandam rationabilem venditionem, sicut eis mandavi literis nostris, de quodam essarto meo juxta Terentforde, Canonicis de Leysnes,³ et in Arra centum solidos receperunt, datis fidejussoribus et fide interposita ex parte mea, quod pactio illa stabilis permaneret. Post hanc autem conventionem sic factam, occulte veniunt ad me in partes transmarinas

¹ The Abbot & Convent of Boxley present Adam de Hanele to Stoke Vicarage, in 1244. (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 622.)

² CUNDAVENA, not *Canden*, as Lambarde renders it, was a surname common to the Counts de St. Pol. Its origin is doubtful, probably from *candens avena* or *campus avene*. This letter is undated, and as there were no less than six of the family called Hugo between 1067 and 1307, it is very difficult to single out the one who may have been the victim of this deception, if it were true. (*Dict. Hist. et Archeol.* iii., 284.)

³ Leysnes, or commonly Lesnes, was an Abbey near Erith.

APPENDIX.

Monachi Boxele priusquam scirem quid e
conveniunt me super emptione ejusdem ess
veritatem rei geste, et pactionis firmitate cu
corruperant eciam muneribus et blanditi
qui missus a Ballivis meis mihi veritatem ir
igiter ignorarem versutias illorum, feci p
predicta ventitione : sed agnita postmodum
eorum astutia, retinui cartas meas quas
asportare, priusquam eas vidissem vel a
cassato deceptionis eorum conatu, consilio
virorum prudentium, confirmavi carta mea
factam Canonicis de Leysnes per warrantiz
volo ut ipsa conventio stabilis et inconcus
confirmatione domini mei Regis Anglie,
dedit : ne Monachi Boxele eos in aliquo su
Nullatenus enim audiendi sunt, cum nullo
predicta terra vendicare juste possint. Vale

Registrum Roffense, p. 316.

.APPENDIX G. A. See 1

A Letter from the Prior of Christ Church
licence to one of the Monks to migrate to R

“ Universis, &c., &c. Robertus (Hathl
Christi, Cantuariensis, salutem, &c. Nover
in Christo Frater Johannes Whyte noster
regularum in dicta Ecclesia expresse profe
sonaliter constitutus, cupiens, ut asseruit,
caritate et non ex temeritate vel levitate, vi
devotione majoris religionis propter frugem
artiozem ordinem transvolare, Domino virtu
surus, a nobis humiliter postulasset qu
transeundi ad ordinem Cisterciensem ac in

Roberti ejusdem ordinis Cicestrensis Diocesis suo perpetuo conversandi, concedere dignaremur. Nos &c. ipsius piis affectibus annuentes, sibi ad dictum ordinem Cisterciensem transeundi et conversandi, ut appetit, in Monasterio memorato licentiam concedimus per presentes. In cujus rei &c. &c. Data Cantuarie. . . . die mensis Augusti anno Dimine MCCC. quinquagesimo quarto (1354)."

Canterbury Chapter Records, L., 59-60. Literæ Cantuarienses (J. B. Sheppard), ii., 326.

APPENDIX G. B. See Page 45.

A Letter from the Abbot of Boxley regarding the admission of William Pouns, an apostate Benedictine Monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, into the Cistercian Abbey of Boxley.

"Johannes, permissione Divina Abbas Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Boxle, et ejusdem loci Capitulum, venerabili viro Willelmo Pouns, Monacho Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quum, ait Scriptura, Spiritus ubi vult spirat et nescitur unde veniat aut quo vadat, et ideo non qui vias illius spiritus valeat percutari; et tu, ob devotionem invictissime Crucis, necnon et Sancte Marie Virginis gloriose, desiderans apud Ecclesiam nostram vitam ducere artiore, eodem Spiritu Sancto ductus, idcirco tibi concedimus unanimiter in communi nostra domo Capitulari, quatenus, petita licentia a tuo Priore et Capitulo, jam sede vacante,¹ transferendi te, ad Ecclesiam nostram venire valeatis, et tanquam noster commonachus inter nos perpetuo Domino famulari; teque, cum veneris cum dicta licentia, recipere promittimus in nostrum commonachum et confratrem. In cujus rei, &c., &c. Data in domo nostra Capitulari vicesimo quinto die mensis Aprilis anno Domini MCCCCXLIII. (1443.)"

¹ Archbishop Chichele, who had granted licence for his re-admission to Christ-Church, had died on the 12th of the same month.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX G. c. See I

The Letter from John Hoker, of Maidstone, by Burnet in his *Collection of Records*, Part No. lv., runs thus :

“ Ruit hic passim Azzotinus Dagon : Be-
dudum confractus est.”

“ Repertus est nuper Cantianorum deus lig-
qui cum ipso Proteo cocertare potuisset.
innuere oculis, barbam convertere, incurv-
aversari et recipere preces citissimo novem
sua causa caderent, repertus est in eorum t-
anathemate, linteis cereis, agricis . . .
muneribus, &c., &c. . . . Hinc factum est
imo Angliam totam jam seculis aliquot
dementarit. Patefactus Meydstaniensibus
mitus dedit, ex summo culmine confertissim
aliis ex animo, aliis Ajacem risu simulac-
circulator Londinum est. Invisit aulam
novus hospes : nemo salutat vere Cor-
aulico, Barones, Duces, Marchiones,
longinquo circumstandum, intuendum e-
Agit ille, minatur oculis, aversatur ore, c-
deorsum caput, incurvat dorsum, annui-
rident, mirantur : Strepit vocibus the-
æthera clamor. Rex ipse, incertum ga-
patefactam imposturam, an magis doluerit
miseræ plebi fuisse impositum. Quid mult-
ad Conciliarios. Hinc post dies aliquot hab-
predicabat e sacra cathedra Episcopus Ro-
Danieli Bel Cantianus, summo erectus p-
jam incalesceret concionator, et verbum De-
cordibus auditorum, præcipitio devolvunt is
confertissimos auditores. Hic varius audi-

rapitur, laceratur, frustillatim comminuitur, scinditur in mille confractus partes ; tandem in ignem mittitur. Et hic tulit exitum illum !”

APPENDIX H. See Page 71.

THE BURIAL OF THOMAS A' BECKET.

Radulphus de Diceto,¹ *Decem Scriptores*, (Twysden,) p. 556.

“Die Martis occubuit manibus impiorum confossus. Die Martis translatus est. Sequenti die Mercurii summo mane nefandus rumor increbuit quod nefandi carnifices Archiepiscopi corpus abstrahere a sacro loco condixerant, et canibus decerpendum vel avibus extra muros proicere. Abbas itaque de Boxeleia, Prior et Conventus Cantuariensis ecclesie, prudentum consilio statuerunt ut id maturiori traderent sepulturæ ; quod nec aquis abluendum aliquibus videbatur, præsertim cum longa satis abstinencia fuerit clarificatum, abstersum cilicio, proprio purificatum in sanguine.”²

Matthew Paris (Rolls Series) Stubbs, ii., 281, gives it thus :

“Crastino mane rumor perstrept in ecclesia quod paravissent familia illa de Broch cum suis complicitibus eum ab ecclesia extrahere, dolentes quod illum in ecclesia trucidassent, quod timentes, monachi ocius accelerant sanctum corpus illud sepeliri et sepulchro inferre. Affuit illi obsequio Abbas de Boxlea et Prior de Dovra, vocati prius ab Archiepiscopo, quia eorum consilio Priorem, qui in Cantuariensi non erat ecclesia, unum de Monachis facere voluit.”

¹ He claims to have been a personal attendant on the Archbishop.

² See also *Chronica Gervasii* (ibidem) p. 1,416.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I. See Pa

Letter from Abp. Warham to Cardinal
of Henry VIII. (Record Office), Vol. iii., P

“Pleace it your good grace to understand
called S'r Adam Bradshawe, whom I send
Lordship, was put into prison at Maidst
sumption in pulling down and breking c
seales as were set up at the Abbey at
opinions of Martine Luther. Whiche I
prison, hath writen and caused to bee cast
Maidstone verie sedicous billes against t
honorable counsail and other estates of
informed). . . . As toching the pullin
of the said writings and seales, which we
holines commaundement and by yo'r grac
my seale, it may pleace yo'r lordship to p
he escape the other dainger, or els it ma
remit him to bee punished by me, &c., &c.

“To the mooste reverende father in G
good lord, my lord cardinal and legate a lat

APPENDIX I. A. See 1

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Dome
Part i., 1324, 3 May, 299. William W
bury, to Wolsey.

“Has received letters from the abbot
security of his house for the payment of 1
Would not have interfered, as the place
been forced by the act of Convocation at
Bp. of London to proceed against such a
As the place is much sought from all part

the Rode of Grace, would be sorry to put it under an interdict. Wishes his opinion about the matter. The Abbot is inclined to live precisely, and bring the place out of debt, or else "it were pity that he should live much longer to the hurt of so holy a place where so many miracles be showed.

"Otford, 3 May. To my lord Cardinal of York and Legate de latere."

APPENDIX K. See Pages 84, 100.

BOXLEY TERRIER (16 August, 1615).

"The Terrier of the Landes Tenementes and portion of Tyethes that belong to ye Vicaredge and Parsonage of Boxleye.

"Concerninge the Vicaredge heere is in ye possession of our Minister his dwellinge howse, a stable, and a little gardener (*sic.*) with two or three littel garden plates (? plots) and a yarde well and substantiallye fenced & repayred. Allsoe our Minister exhibited unto us a writinge in parchment¹ concerninge a portion of tyethes belonginge to the Vicaredge of Boxleye whiche was layde up in the Churche Cheste with three lockes, the contentes whereof as followethe :

"To all treue Christian People to whom these presente letters of Testimonie shall concern. We, John Chamber, Clerke, Vicare of East Peckeham in the Countie of Kente, Thomas Hartredge Senior of Maydeston in the sayde Counte, Richard Asten of the same, John Burbage Senior, of the Parishe of Boxleye, in the same sayde Coutie of Kente, William Burbage, John Byrche, John Style Senior, and Thomas Browne of the same Parishe of Boxleye, sende greetinge in the Lord everlastinge. Knowe ye

¹ A very much defaced document, which seems to be the original parchment referred to, is preserved in the Office of the Archdeaconry of Maidstone at Canterbury.

that we the sayde John Chamber, Thomas Hartredge, Richard Asten, John Burbege, William Burbege, John Birche, John Style, and Thomas Browne, doe Testifie and knowe that the Vicar of Boxleye aforesayde, and all other Vicars his predecessors, and everye of them for theire tyme have beene in quiete and peasable possession of all manner of tythes as well prediall as personale with oblations and all other duties accustomed to be payde oute of the landes appertaininge to the manner of Vynters within the sayde Parishe of Boxleye, from x. to xx., xxx., xl., l., lx. yeeres before the date hereof. And that theye nor any other persons now livinge have hearde or known to the conterairie. Savinge that the late dissolved Pryor of Ledes had the tythe cornes of certeyne peeces of the sayed Vinters landes. All whiche matters shall be justified at all tymes whensoever the same shall be required. In witness whereof we the saide John Chamber, Thomas Hartredge, Richard Asten, John Burbage, William Burbage, John Birche, John Style, and Thomas Browne, and everye of us to this our Letters of Testimonie have sett our Seales. Given the xviii. daye of May in the third yeare of ye Reigne of our moste drad (*sic.*) sovereign Lorde Edwarde the sixte by the grace of God Kinge of Englande, France, and Irelande, Defender of the Faythe, and in erthe of the Churche of Englande and alsoe of Irelande Supreme heade. This portion of tythes hathe beene detayned from our Minister and his predecessor before him.

Touchinge the parsonage there is the dwellinge house with two barnes and certayne outhouses, and one pigeon howse, 1 ourchard, yarle, allsoe one feild calde Courtelandes, conteinge about 16 acres, one crafte called Parsons acre, beinge 1 acre, 1 persell called Blackebush, being 3 acres, & 1 persell to the quantitie of halfe a woode, one peece of woode called Parsons

¹ A very much defaced document, which seems to be the original parchment referred to, is preserved in the Office of the Archdeaconry of Maidstone, at Canterbury.

herne, containinge 16 acres, one other peece of ruffe grounde called Parsons Waste, beinge 8 acres.

Henry Wise.	George Case, Vicar of Boxlye.
Thomas Fletcher.	William Tylden,
Thomas Cod.	William Ovenell,
Stephan Hartrop.	Churchwardens.

A TERRIER REFERRING TO THE VICARAGE.

“A true Terrier of ye Vicarage and Parsonage of Boxley, 1637 :

The Vicarage house with a stable, one outhowse.

One acre more or less in gardens and closes.

On the East, bounding to ye land of Sir John Clark, now in ye occupation of Goodman Tilden.

On the West, to an orchard belonging to the Parsonage.

On the South, to a small piece of ground belonging to the Parsonage, a small stream running between ye Vicarage and it.

On ye North, to a footway running between the Vicarage & the Church.

To ye Vicarage all Tyth is due save corne which is not dig'd with ye foote.

To ye Parsonage one howse, two barnes, one stable, one Dovehouse. The situation of the Parsonage bounding to ye land of ye Vicarage to ye East, to ye West to ye Kings Streete, to ye North to ye Green of Boxley, to ye South to ye land of William Tilden and Abel Beeching.

More, one parcel of ground called Parsons Acre, being one Acre more or less, and a way leading to it by ye land of John Fletcher, bounding East West & South to ye lands of John Fletcher, and on ye North to a wood belonging to ye Lower Grange.

One small parcel more of ground bounding to a meddow in ye occupation of William Tilden, on ye East to ye lands of Thos. Brooke, on ye South & ye West to ye Kings Streete, to ye North to ye Vicarage howse, and an howse of William Tilden.

One other small parcel of land being a quarter of an Acre, more or lesse, bounding to ye Kings highway East, to ye lands of Richard Matthews South, to ye lands of John Fletcher West, to ye land of Sir Henry Grimstone North.

More, one other parcel of land called "Black Bush," bounding to ye lands of his Majesty East, being 5 Acres, to ye Kings Streete South, to ye lands of Sir Henry Grimstone West, and to ye Kings Streete North.

More, one other parcel of land called Court Lands, being 12 Acres, more or lesse, bounding to ye lands of John Fletcher East, ye Kings Streete South, ye lands of Sir Francis Wiat West, ye Kings Streete North.

More, another Parcel of land called Parsons Herne, being 16 Acres more or lesse, bounding to ye lands of Henry Newman East, to ye lands of Sir Francis Wiat South, ye Kings Streete West, ye land of Edward Alcorne North.

More, one parcel of land called Parsons Ruffe, being 14 Acres more or lesse, bounds to ye land of Edward Alcorne East and South, and North to ye West to ye lands of Henry Newman, and ye heires of John Mathewes.

Our Churchyard is sufficiently wald and is maintained by the Parish.

Haut Wiat, Vicar.

Mathew Hudsford, Ch. Warden.

The mark of William Dodes, Ch. W.

N.B.—It seems to be a verbatim copy of an early one signed by George Case, date 1613.

APPENDIX K. See Page 102.

A Letter from Pope Alexander III. to Becket enforcing on Boxley Abbey the payment of Tithes.

“Pervenit quidem ad nos quod Monachi de Boxele ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ, in cujus parochia commorantur, decimas ex integro non persolvant, et eas secundum canones reddere contradicant. Quapropter, Frater noster, tibi per Apostolica scripta mandamus et præcipimus, quod prædictos Monachos ut ipsas decimas, etiam de illis cultis, in quibus olim domus constructæ fuerant, præfatæ ecclesiæ cum omni integritate persolvant, quas priusquam in eadem ecclesiæ morarentur, solebant persolvere, sine appellationis obstaculo, nostra auctoritate, omni cum districtione compellas. Sicut enim olim de pascuis solvebantur decimæ, ita nunc de eisdem ad frugum fertilitatem translatis decimas volumus absque diminutione persolvi.”

Vol. v., p. 129.

APPENDIX L. See Page 102.

GRANT OF IMMUNITY TO THE CISTERCIAN ORDER.

(Egerton Charters, British Museum, No.376. A.D. 1222.)

“Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Ricardus (de Wendover) Dei gratia Roffensis Episcopus salutem in Domino sempiternum. Ad universitatis vestre noticiam volumus pervenire, nos privilegium Domini Pape Honorii inspexisse in hec verba. “Honorius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus S(tephano Langton) Cantuariensi Sancte Romaine ecclesie Cardinali, et (Waltero Gray) Eboracensi, Archiepiscopis, et eorum suffraganeis ac dilectis filiis aliis ecclesiarum prelati per Cantuar. et Eborac. Provincias constitutis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Abbates Cisterciensis Ordinis tempore Concilii Generalis ad commonicionem felicitis memorie, I(nnocentii III) Pape predecessoris nostri statuerint, ut de cetero fratres

ipsius Ordinis ne occasione privilegiorum suorum ecclesia ulterius gravarentur de alienis terris et ab eo tempore acquirendis, si eas, propriis manibus aut sumptibus colerent, decimas persolverent ecclesiis quibus ratione prediorum antea solvebantur nisi cum eisdem ecclesiis aliter ducerent componendum. . . .

“Nos, quia eorum quieti paterna sollicitudine providere volentes universitati vestre per apostolica scripta firmiter precipiendo, mandamus, quatinus Abbates et fratres ejusdem Ordinis a prestacione decimarum tam de possessionibus habitis ante Concilium generale quam de novalibus, sive ante sive post Concilium acquisitis, que propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolunt. Necnon de ortis et virgultis, pratis, pascuis, nemoribus, molendinis, salinis, et piscatoribus suis, et de suorum animalium nutrimentis, singuli vestrum omnino servetis immunes, contradictores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione preposita compescendo.

“Datum apud Lateran. vii. kal. Julii pontificatus nostri anno sexto. Nos autem ad instanciam Religiosorum virorum Abbatis et Conventus de Boxle huic transcripto ejusdem autentici quod cum eodem originali diligentur examinavimus. Sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus ad cautelam. Bene,”

NAMES OF THE LANDS THAT WERE “TITHE-FREE.”

“Nomina camporum et aliarum rerum in Parochia de Boxle de quibus Abbas et Conventus de Boxle decetero liberi erunt et immunes a prestacione, sive solucione omnium decimarum dum fuerint in manibus eorum propriis.

“In primis, supra montem de Westfelde, Welpynge, Chalnecroft, Pyndecroft, Eastfelde, Horcroft, Pollehelle, Helstedefelde, Hosier land, Sneggemed, La Breche, Cuckowscroft Major, Cukebake, Weeldeelade, preter parcellam inferius exceptam, et boscus etiam vocatus Monkedowne, Charmaneswode, Poureswode, L the grove, et Sneggrove, item Wymardesmede.”

(Registrum W. Woode et T. Bourne, Prior. Roff. penes Dec. et Cap. ib., f. 20, b. See *Registrum Roffense*, p. 185.)

APPENDIX M.

LIST OF RECTORS AND VICARS, WITH THE DATES AS NEARLY
AS CAN BE FIXED.

RECTORS.

- Ansfridus.
Galfridus.
1240. Georgius de Romanio.
1283. Alliotti.
1303. (Circ.) Thomas de Cobeham.
1350. Johannes de Borbach.

VICARS.

1387. Adam Smith.
1389. (Circ.) Robert Marre.
1390. Nicholaus Julian.
1406. Peter Beech, or Beuk.
1449. William Snell.
1451. John Munden.
1489. John Fletcher.
1500. (Circ.) Chrystopher Danyell.
1514. Thomas Pereson, or Pearson.
1528. Abbot John.
1538. (Circ.) Robert Jonson.
John Puyzant.
1554. Richard Adamson.
1556. Roger Jones.
1566. Philip Hilles.
1589. George Case.
1632. Hawte Wiat.
1638. John Balcanqual.
1640. Walter Balcanqual.
1644. Thomas Heynes (intruded).

APPENDIX.

- 1678. Humphrey Lynde.
- 1690. John Wyvell.
- 1704. Thomas Spratt.
- 1720. Edmund Barrell.
- 1765. William Markham.
- 1771. Brownlow North.
- 1774. William Nance.
- 1780. John Benson.
- 1804. Samuel Goodenough.
- 1808. Richard Cockburn.
- 1832. John Griffith.
- 1853. Frederick J. Richards, the pre



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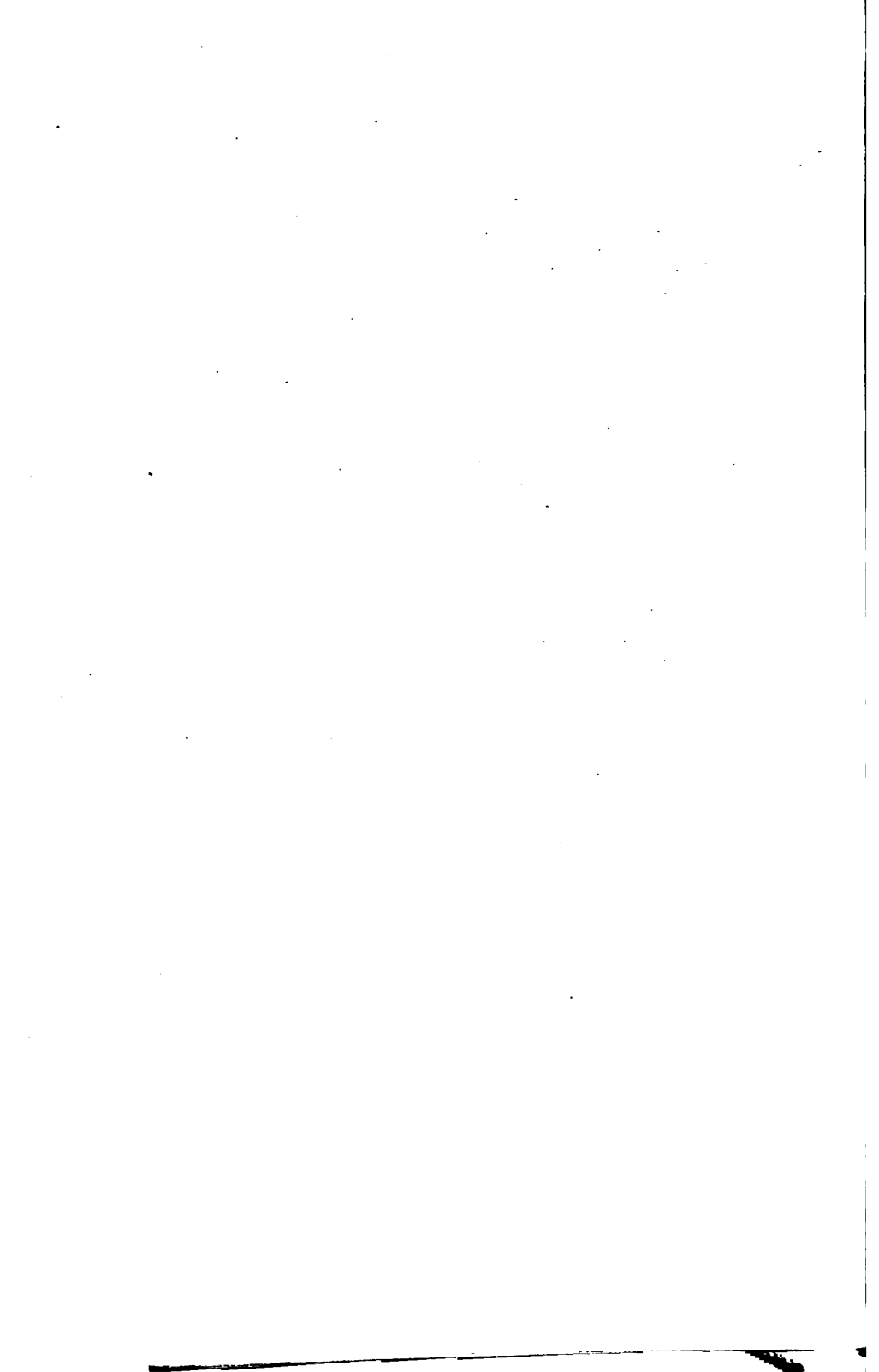
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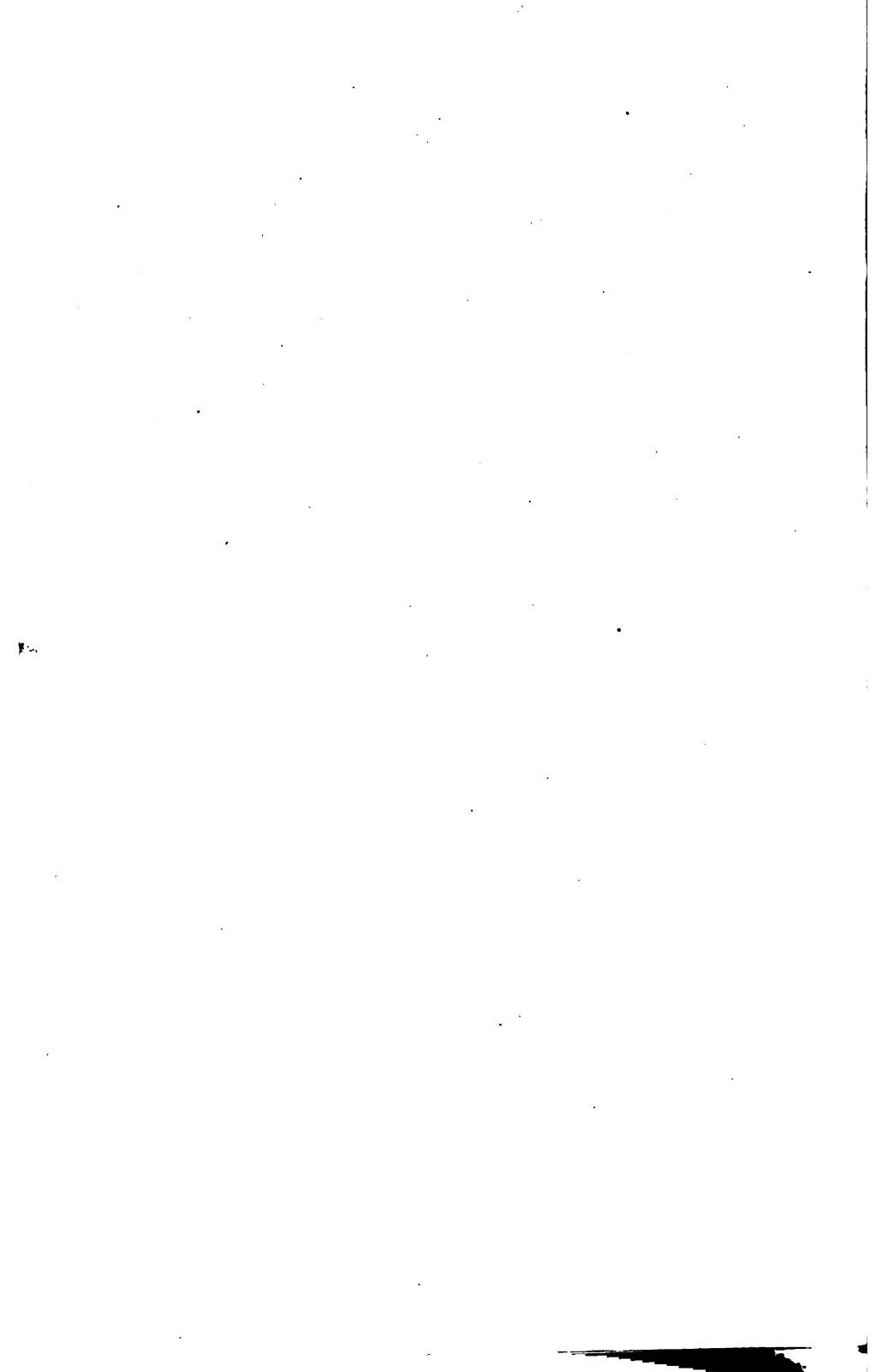
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